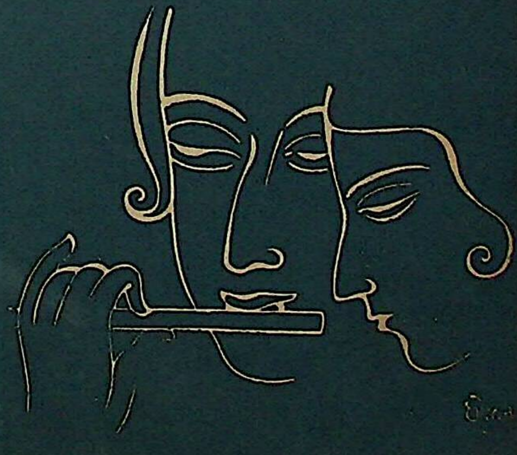
५.१

साहित्य

# Jayadeva

Suniti Kumar Chatterji



*Makers of Indian Literature*

JAYADEVA, the Last of the Ancients and the First of the Moderns in Indo-Aryan Poetry is acknowledged universally to be the writer of the sweetest lyrics in the Sanskrit language. Flourished during the second half of the 12th century, he sang not only swan-song of the age of Classical Sanskrit Poetry, but he also sang in the advent of a new dawn in Indian literature-the 'Vernacular' Age. His *Gita-gobinda* obtained the status of a religious work in the eyes of the devout Vaishnavas. According to a Western scholar 'Jayadeva belongs to the greatest poetical genii of India'. On the other hand, the view expressed by some of the great literary critics of Bengal is that there are songs in the *Gita-govinda*, but no Govinda. They are not happy with frank eroticism of these poems which do not form great love-poetry, except in rare passages.

Jayadeva has evoked such extreme opinions, and thus he requires close and careful study.

In this monograph, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the National Professor of India in Humanities and President of the Sahitya Akademi, in his masterly manner touched all the points concerning Jayadeva. He has discussed the rival claims of Bengal, Orissa and Mithila regarding his birthplace, he has placed new material in the shape of the 26 verses in the *Sadukti-karnamrita*, as well as 2 Apabhramsa poems ascribed to Jayadeva from the Sikh *Adi-Granth*. This historical as well as literary evaluation of Jayadeva forms an exhaustive addition to our literature on the subject.

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Dhirendrakrishna Deva Varma

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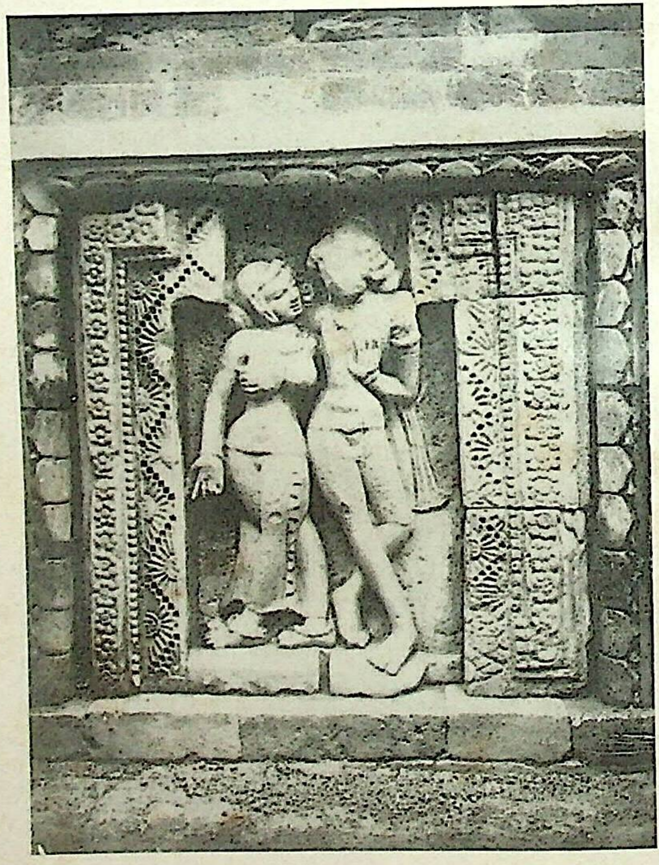
8cps

# JAYADEVA

The sculpture reproduced on the endpaper depicts a scene where three soothsayers are interpreting to King Suddhodana the dream of Queen Maya, mother of Lord Buddha. Below them is seated a scribe recording the interpretation. This is perhaps the earliest available pictorial record of the art of writing in India. From Nagarjunakonda. 2nd century A.D. *Courtesy*: National Museum, New Delhi.



**RADHA & KRISHNA**

*6th - 7th Century from* **Pāhārpur, Rajshahi, Bengal**

MAKERS OF INDIAN LITERATURE

# JAYADEVA

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

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*Dedicated to*

HAREKRISHNA MUKHOPADHYAY

Authority on Bengali Vaishnava Literature and History
Editor of the *Corpus* of Bengal Vaishnava *Padas*
Close Friend for over Fifty Years
Fellow-traveller in Search of Manuscripts in West Bengal
Joint-Worker in editing Chandidasa's *Padas*

*With Esteem and Affection*

*by* SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Rāsa-pūrṇimā (Kārttikī-pūrṇimā) Day
on the Completion of the Latter's 83rd year
(November 10, 1973—*Tithi* / November 26, 1973)

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As cover-design of this book on Jayadeva is reproduced a picture giving the faces of Krishna and Radha, carved on a black marble slab from a drawing by Sri Dhirendra Krishna Deva Varma of Tripura. This is a work executed in 1935 by a modern Indian Artist, who is a pupil of Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose, and who was Director of the *Kalā-Bhavana* at Rabindranath Tagore's Santiniketan School and Visva-Bharati University.

# I. JAYADEVA, THE LAST OF THE ANCIENTS AND THE FIRST OF THE MODERNS IN INDO-ARYAN LITERATURE

JAYADEVA, the author of the *Gīta-govinda*, is pre-eminent among Sanskrit poets and is acknowledged universally to be the writer of the sweetest lyrics in the Sanskrit language. His name comes spontaneously at the end as the last great poet in an enumeration of the classic poets of Sanskrit—Asvaghosha, Bhasa, Kalidasa, Bhartrihari, Harshadeva, Bharavi, Bhavabhuti, Magha, Kshemendra, Somadeva, Bilhana, Sriharsha, Jayadeva. He is in fact the last of the classical poets of Sanskrit of pan-Indian celebrity, whose influence on the later poets and scholars all over India through his single work, the *Gīta-govinda*, is almost comparable to that of the great Kalidasa himself. The tradition of verse-composition in Sanskrit remained unabated in India after the 12th century when Jayadeva flourished. But the coming of the Turks and the rise of the "Vernaculars" (New Indo-Aryan as well as Middle Dravidian languages) restricted the patronage and popularity (though not the production) of poetical and other works in Sanskrit in the subsequent centuries. Great poets indeed arose in Muslim times, showing that the Hindu mind as it expressed itself in the classical language of India was still capable of rising very near to the highest level attained by it under more propitious conditions five hundred or a thousand years before. They were writers—prosateurs and poets—whose works shed lustre on both the Sanskrit scholarship and the poetic genius of India. They deserve to be resuscitated and critically studied, with almost as much care as the ancients. Unquestionably they too form some of the most brilliant manifestations of the Indian spirit during the last few centuries—e.g., Rupa Gosvami and Jiva Gosvami, Kavi Karnapura, Jagannatha Kavi and Nilakantha Dikshita.

But the era of Classical Sanskrit Poetry closes with the 12th century. Jayadeva sang not only the swan-song of the age which was passing away, but he also sang in the advent of a new age in Indian literature—the "Vernacular" Age. He thus stands at the *yuga-sandhi*, a confluence of two epochs, with a guiding hand for the new epoch that was coming. Jayadeva can truely be called "the Last of the Ancients, and the First of the Moderns" in Indian Poetry.

Thanks to his having been a most charming singer of the frankly earthly and erotic love of Krishna and Radha sublimated to a mystic and spiritual plane, Jayadeva most easily came to be regarded (at least among certain sections of the Indian people) as an inspired poet, who revealed to us this divine love in a mundane garb. This was at a time when the Bhakti schools of a neo-Hindu revival, with Rama and Krishna as the *beau-idéals* of Godlike heroes, came into prominence to resist the Islamic onslaught. The *Gīta-govinda* obtained the status of a religious work, as its author was honoured as a Vaishnava devotee and saint who had received the special grace of Krishna himself. As such, Jayadeva became absorbed in the Vaishnava tradition which is current at the present day, with an honoured place in Vaishnava hagiology. His name and fame as much as his work have come down to all sections of the people, from the scholars to the masses. Stories about him are a part of the devotional romance and poetry which exalt the life of the average man. This fortune has never been that of any other poet in India—the figures of Valmiki and Vyasa and to some extent of Kalidasa apart, which, too, legend and medieval piety have lifted up to the clouds high above the sober *terra firma* of literary history.

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## II. JAYADEVA—LIFE AND LEGENDS : THE BENGALI *JAYADEVA-CARITA* OF VANAMALI DASA

THE AGE of Jayadeva is well established—he flourished during the second half of the 12th century, and was one of the court-poets of Lakshmana-Sena, the last Hindu king of Bengal. The main facts connected with his life have been noted by the late Manmohan Chakravarti (in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1906* : "Sanskrit Literature in Bengal during the Sena Rule" : pp. 163-169). As in the case of almost all other great seers and sages, saints and devotees, and poets and writers of Ancient India, the dates of his birth and death and of other facts of his life are not known. We only know from the *Gīta-govinda* itself the names of his parents (which were Bhojadeva, and Ramadevi or Vamadevi, or Radhadevi), of his wife Padmavati (also known as Rohini), of his friend Parasara and others who used to sing the songs of the *Gīta-govinda*, and also of some of his contemporary poets who like him wrote in Sanskrit and who are known from other sources also—e.g. Umapati-dhara, Sarana, Acarya Govardhana and Dhoyi Kaviraja, as well as the name of his native village Kendu-bilva. In the colophon of an old MS. of the *Gīta-govinda* as noted by Georg Buehler (cf. Haraprasad Sastri's Introduction to Vanamali Dasa's *Jayadeva-carita* as mentioned below), it is said that it was king Lakshmana-Sena of Bengal who gave the title *Kavi-rāja* to Jayadeva.

In the "Golden Legends" of the medieval Vaishnava saints and poets of North India—in Vaishnava hagiology, there are some legendary accounts of Jayadeva which are popular, but without any historical foundation. Some romantic lives of Jayadeva also have come into being in Middle Bengali literature ; and in at least one semi-historical work dating from the end of the 15th century, in a kind of barbarous Sanskrit reflecting throughout a Middle Bengali basis, namely the *Seka-śubhodayā*, we have some stories narrated in connexion with

Jayadeva which may have some historical background. One Jayadeva is recognised as a great saint, a precursor of Guru Nanak, by the Sikhs, and there are verses ascribed to this Jayadeva in Old Hindi or Apabhramsa in the *Guru-Grantha* of the Sikhs who have accepted Jayadeva as a great Vaishnava saint and poet. This forms about all the old material which is available about Jayadeva.

Among the Middle Bengali "biographies", or rather, romantic poems on the life of Jayadeva, mention is to be made of Kavi Vanamali Dasa's *Jayadeva-carita* (first half of the 17th century A.D., as edited by Atul Krishna Goswami, Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, Bengali Year 1312=1905 A.D., with an Introduction by Haraprasad Sastri, pp. 34). The sacred legend of Jayadeva, his wife Padmavati and of the story of his devotion to Krishna, is fully narrated here. The work is of no historical value. Even the date of Jayadeva has been brought down by the poet from the 12th to his own century, when the feudal raja of Burdwan would appear to have been the only big Hindu ruler known to Vanamali Dasa.

There were several authors of the name of Jayadeva in Sanskrit literature, but we do not have much information about any of them, excepting for the poet of the *Gīta-govinda*. Thus we find mention of a Jayadeva, who was the author of a series of *sūtras* or aphorisms on *Chandas* or Metrics, by Abhinava-gupta, the great writer on Alankara or Rhetoric (c. 1000 A.D.); and Harshata (c. 900 A.D.) had written a commentry on the aphorisms. This Jayadeva was, therefore, at least three hundred years anterior to the author of the *Gīta-govinda*. There was another Jayadeva who wrote a drama in Sanskrit, the *Prasanna-Rāghava*, based on the Ramayana story. He was a Brahman of the Kaundinya *gotra* or clan, the name of his father was Mahadeva, and that of his mother was Sumitra, and his *guru* or teacher was Hari-misra. It is likely that he belonged to a time near enough to Jayadeva of the *Gīta-govinda*, since he has been quoted from his *Prasanna-Rāghava* by the Kashmirian poet Kalhana in his anthology of

Sanskrit verses known as the *Sūkti-muktāvalī* which was compiled about 1257 A.D. It is not known where he was born or lived, but some have regarded him as having inhabited Vidarbha or Northern Maharashtra, and he also wrote a book on rhetoric named *Candrāloka.* This book, however, did not have much vogue in Bengal.

## III. JAYADEVA—CLAIMED BY BENGAL, BY ORISSA AND BY MITHILA

JAYADEVA, author of the *Gīta-govinda*, is almost universally connected with the village of Kenduli, the ancient Kendu-bilva, in the district of Birbhum in West Bengal. But there have also been claims on him from other parts of Bengal and Eastern India. One tradition, not so very strong, takes him to Bagura or Bogra district in North-eastern Bengal (now in Bangla-Desh). The evidence in this connexion is not convincing, and this evidence has not been pressed. Our source of information seems to be Sri Dhirendranath Bal, living in the village of Bharaib, seven *krośas* distant from a small village named Kenduli. The village had a sizable Hindu population. Formerly, it is said there used to be an annual fair in honour of Jayadeva, and there is a big tank named after "Jayadeva Thakur." The ruins of the homestead of Jayadeva used to be pointed out by the side of this tank by the people of the village. There are some old vestiges of ruined temples and fragments of sculptures in this village of Kenduli. It is some 4 *krośas* from the nearest railway station of Jaypur Hat. This is about all that we know of this Kenduli.[1]

In his well-documented book *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa, in the Collection of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, Vol. II*, by Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra, Curator of the Museum (published by the *Orissa Sahitya Akademi*, Bhubaneswar, 1960), there is a long article on Jayadeva and his *Gīta-govinda* considered from various aspects (pp. XXXVI–LVI). In this learned article, some of the contemporaries of Jayadeva, as much as Jayadeva himself, have been claimed for Orissa on literary and other grounds.

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[1] See *Kavi Jayadeva O Śrī-Gīta-govinda* by Dr. Hare-Krishna Mukherji Sahityaratna, Calcutta, 4th edition, Agrahayana 1372, pp. 36, 37, foot-note.

The Kendu-bilva of Jayadeva has been identified with a big village, now known also as Kenduli, under the Balipatna Police Station of Puri district. Iconographical evidence from sculpture is also presented to prove Jayadeva's mythological conception regarding Vishnu as being essentially of Orissan origin. There has been a tremendous influence of the *Gīta-govinda* on Orissan literature, of course, and this has been looked upon as being due to Jayadeva having been a poet from Orissa.

But the *Gīta-govinda* is a work, which influenced the whole of India, almost immediately after its appearance, and Bengali literature as much as Gujarati literature and Hindi or Braj-Bhasha literature were equally under the influence of the book. There is no point in insisting upon Jayadeva's provenance, merely on the basis of the strong tradition which is current in Bengal, that Jayadeva belonged to the village Kenduli in Birbhum. But some of the evidence presented by the verses ascribed to Jayadeva himself which are found in the Sanskrit anthology compiled by Sridhara-dasa, as mentioned below—verses which are quoted in this monograph later on—would seem to be conclusive that Jayadeva belonged to Bengal and was a member of the court of king Lakshmana-Sena who ruled at Navadvip on the Bhagirathi river in West Bengal upto the year 1203 A.D. This year a band of Turks under Bakhtyar Khilji raided Navadvip from Bihar, and forced Lakshmana-Sena to flee to East Bengal ; and thus the Turks made an effective conquest of Bengal, putting an end to Hindu rule there. Orissa, of couse, has been a most important centre of Sanskrit learning in Eastern India (along with Mithila), and Orissa gave to Sanskrit literature some of its most eminent writers.

But the memory of Jayadeva by name as the author of the *Gīta-govinda* has been kept green for nearly eight hundred years by means of the annual popular *mela* or fair in the village of Kenduli on the Ajay river in Birbhum district in West Bengal, which is associated with the name of Jayadeva.

Thus, among other things, my attention has recently been drawn by Dr. Hare-Krishna Mukherji to a reference to

Kenduli in the Birbhum area or district as being the home of Jayadeva in the colophon to a Bengali Ms. dated 1746 A.D. (=*San* or Bengali year 1153) in which Gopicarana-Dasa Vidya-bhushana (whose Sanskrit Commentary on the *Hari-nāmāmṛita-Vyākaraṇa* completing an earlier unfinished commentary on the same work, is the subject-matter of this well-attested Ms.) definitely mentions that he lived in Kendu-bilva, which was also the home of Jayadeva, the poet of the *Gīta-govinda*, known at his time as Kenduli in Birbhum district.

Kenduli still is an important place of Vaishnava pilgrimage in West Bengal, and the annual *mela* or religious gathering, in honour of Jayadeva, of Vaishnava monks and mendicants and of members of other related sects like the *Bāuls*, is very largely attended, with a big concourse of pilgrims.

Sri Mahapatra has mentioned that there is another village named "Kendoli" in Mithila, and some Maithils also claim Jayadeva to be an inhabitant of Tirahuta or Tira-bhukti i.e. Mithila. Vaishnava tradition (as preserved in the *Bhakta-māla-ṭīkā*) says that Jayadeva's wife was intended by her father to become a temple-dancer at the temple of Jagannatha at Puri, but Jagannatha or Vishnu himself in a dream directed the father to marry her to Jayadeva.

Another tradition is preserved in the *Seka-śubhodayā*. (The *Seka-Śubhodayā* or "the Holy Advent of the Shaikh", is a work of Muslim inspiration, giving the life and miracles of a Muslim saint who visited the court of king Lakshmana-Sena of Bengal before the coming of the Turks under Bakhtyar Khilji in 1203. It is written in a barbarous kind of Sanskrit based on Bengali, and was prepared out of old traditions going back to the 12th–13th centuries, some time during the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century. It has been edited by Dr. Sukumar Sen in the Bengali character, with notes, in the Hrishikesa Series, Calcutta, 1920; 2nd edition in the Deva-nagari character, with Notes and Introduction and Bengali Translation, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* No. 286, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1963). This tradition makes Padmavati an accomplished singer also. With her husband she entered into a contest with a famous musician from outside Bengal (Mithila) named Būḍhana Misra. Jayadeva himself seems to hint at his wife having been an accomplished danseuse, when he describes himself as "Padmāvatī-caraṇa-cāraṇa-cakravartī", i.e. *the veritable suzerain to cause the feet of Padmavati to move* (*in dance*). It is quite conceivable that Padmavati was intended by her parents to be dedicated to the temple of Jagannatha as a *deva-dāsī* or temple-dancer, and was consequently trained in dancing and music, but she was finally married to Jayadeva. Tradition current in Bengal makes this marriage a very happy one, both husband and wife being devoted to Krishna, and Jayadeva's love and pride for his wife is clearly indicated by several references to her in his work.

## IV. JAYADEVA'S WRITINGS APART FROM THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA* —THE VERSES IN SRIDHARA DASA'S *SADUKTI-KARṆĀMṚITA*

**SRIDHARA-DASA**, the son of Vaṭu-dasa, who was a contemporary of Jayadeva and was both a scholar and a poet as well as small feudatory landlord, compiled an anthology of Sanskrit verses, known as the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, in the Saka year 1127 (=1206 A.D.). This anthology is of unique value for the study of Sanskrit literature as composed in Bengal, and for appeciating the poetic mind of Gauḍa and Vanga i.e. both West and East Bengal, just before the coming of the Turks from Bihar and North India who started the Muslim period in Bengal. The *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* was first published in its entirety from Lahore in 1933 under the editorship of the late Pandit Ramavatar Sarma and Pandit Haradatta Sarma. Recently, in the year 1965, a new edition has been published by Prof. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji from Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay in Calcutta. Long before, Rajendralala Mitra wrote an article on this work in 1876, and then in 1880 the German scholar Theodor Aufrecht discussed this anthology on the basis of two Mss., and wrote articles in German and introduced it to the Western world. Aufrecht had analysed the contents of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, and from his notes on it the late Dr. F. W. Thomas used a good deal of material in editing another important Sanskrit anthology of the same type—the *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya*. In the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* we have some 2400 Sanskrit verses composed in different metres, and these have been arranged in five sections (*pravāhas*). The authorship of some five hundred verses in it is not known, or has been lost, but we get names of about five hundred poets as authors of the remaining verses. It would appear that of these five hundred poets, over three hundred belonged to Bengal (Gauḍa-Vanga). The five sections (*pravāhas*) into which this not so short anthology has been divided are as follows :

(i) Amara-pravāha or Deva-pravāha, i.e. *the section on the Gods* ; (ii) Śṛṅgāra-pravāha i.e. *the section on Love-making* ; (iii) Cāṭu-pravāha i.e. *the section on Flattery or Praise* ; (iv) Apadeśā-pravāha i.e. *the section on 'Pretexts' or 'Assignations'* ; and (v) Uccāvaca-pravāha i.e. *the section onthe 'Ups and Downs'*. Under each of these *pravāhas* or 'flows', there are a number of *vīcis* or 'waves' or smaller classifications, and each *vīci* is complete with five *ślokas*. We have thus in the first *pravāha*, the Amara-pravāha, 95 *vīcis* ; in Śṛṅgāra-pravāha, 179 ; in Cāṭu-pravāha, 54 ; in Apadeśa-pravāha, 72 ; and in the Uccāvaca-pravāha, 76.

In a good many of the Sanskrit verses included in these *pravāhas*, we have an expression of the poetic spirit and sensibility of the Bengali people prior to A.D. 1200—the period immediately before the Turki conquest of Bengal. The tradition as well as the poetic background and the poetic life of Bengal of the subsequent medieval period of the Bengali language we find reflected to a great extent in these *ślokas*. We find quite an anticipation of Middle Bengali poetic literature, and even of Modern Bengali poetry, in a number of these *ślokas*. For the study of the poetic literature of Bengali, the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* can certainly be considered as one of its basic sources, although it is couched in the Sanskrit language.

Now, in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, as many as thirty-one different *ślokas* or verses have found a place in the different *pravāhas*, all of which have been brought under the rubric "Jayadevasya" i.e. *of or by Jayadeva*. Of the two Jayadevas other than the poet of the *Gīta-govinda* mentioned above, Jayadeva No. 1, who was the writer on Sanskrit metrics, is not at all known as a poet ; and Jayadeva No. 2, the author of the *Prasanna-Rāghava*, might have been a contemporary of our Jayadeva, but his name and fame appear not to have reached Bengal, when this anthology was compiled. If Sridhara-dasa, the compiler of it, knew of some other Jayadeva distinct from this well-known poet of the *Gīta-govinda*, he could only be expected to mention this fact. Sridhara-dasa could not have mixed up our Jayadeva (who was a well-known person in the court of king Lakshmana-Sena and from whose *Gīta-govinda* he had also quoted some five verses, among the thirty-one given by him as Jayadeva's) with some other poet bearing the same name. Consequently, on the strength of these five verses from the *Gīta-govinda* which have been rightly ascribed to Jayadeva by Sridhara-dasa, and considering also that Sridhara-dasa who was a high functionary in the court of king Lakshmana-Sena (in the Introduction to the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, Sridhara-dasa has informed us that his father Vaṭu-dasa was a great favourite of Lakshmana-Sena), it will be quite permissible to assume that the author of all these thirty-one verses quoted by him was none other than Jayadeva, poet of the *Gīta-govinda*. In the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* there are ninety-one verses ascribed to Umapati-dhara, one of the contemporaries of Jayadeva, mentioned in the *Gīta-govinda* ; six verses by Acarya Govardhana, who is well-known as the author of the *Āryā-sapta-śatī* or "An Anthology of 700 poems (on love) in the Āryā metre" ; twenty-one by Sarana ; and another twenty from Dhoyi (of which two are from Dhoyi's well-known work the *Pavana-dūta* (this interesting imitation of Kalidasa's *Megha-dūta* has already been printed). All the four of these poets have been mentioned by Jayadeva in his *Gīta-govinda* And besides, there are eleven verses from king Lakshmana-Sena's son prince Kesava-Sena, and five verses from Halayudha—all of them equally contemporariea of Jayadeva. Moreover, there are compositions by a number of other poets who flourished round about the time of Jayadeva.

During the middle of the sixteenth century the great Vaishnava teacher from Bengal living at Vrindavana, viz. Sri Rupa Gosvami, compiled his well-known anthology of Sanskrit Vaishnava poems, and in this anthology (known as the *Padyāvalī*) we find also a number of verses from all these poets.

In these *ślokas* from Jayadeva quoted by Sridhara-dasa, we find verses illustrative of *Vīra-rasa*, or the Heroic Sentiment, and not merely verses on the *Śṛiṅgarā-rasa* or the Sentiment of Love and Love-play (which is the only sentiment treated in the *Gīta-govinda*). Further, Jayadeva has now been well established in Bengal and Eastern India as a devotee of Sri-Krishna and primarily as a Vaishnava poet. But in these thirty-one *ślokas*, we have *ślokas* also in praise of Siva. From all these *ślokas*, we find that Jayadeva's Muse was not confined to the dulcet notes of Sri-Krishna's flute only—the clang of arms and the blare of trumpets also had drawn him in composing poetry. He had composed forceful verses on such themes as a field of battle and as the blowing of war-trumpets. From all this, it would seem that Jayadeva, to start with, was not a purely Vaishnava devotee or saint—he was just a *Smārta* or Saiva Brahmana house-holder who honourd or worshipped the five (or six) great divinities of Puranic Hinduism with equal faith, e.g., Ganesa, Surya, Vishnu, Siva and Uma, and also, among certain groups particularly in South India, Kumara or Karttikeya (*Pañcopāsaka* or "Worshippers of the Five", or *Śaḍupāsaka* or "Worshippers of the Six"). In later times, his fame was established as a great Vaishnava poet and saint by the organisation of the Gauḍiya or Bengal or Navadvipa school of Vaishnavas, as they were becoming established as a dominant sect, and it is quite likely that originally he was not at all so. We cannot accept the view that during A.D. 1100–1200 there could have developed a Vaishnava society and a Vaishnava cult or sect such as we find in the post-Caitanya age in Bengal. The late Mm. Haraprasad Sastri in the Introduction to his edition of Vidyapati's *Kīrtti-latā* has established that the poet Vidyapati of Mithila was not at all a kind of sectarian devotee and poet of the class known in Bengal as *Vaishṇava-Mahājanas*—writers who composed religio-erotic poems on the loves of Krishna and Radha, which were looked upon as profoundly devotional and mystic compositions and were sung both in religious ritual, and for spiritual unction. Vidyapati was just an ordinary Smarta Brahman who would worship equally Vishnu and Siva, Lakshmi and Uma, Radha and Ganga, and other deities of the late medieval Puranic pantheon. The same can also be said about Jayadeva, although he was the poet of the *Gīta-govinda*, which is now held in such high esteem as Vaishnava religious poetry by the sectarian Vaishnavas of Eastern India particularly.

## V. THE HISTORICAL JAYADEVA AS A SECULAR POET OF LOVE; AND JAYADEVA THE SAINT AND MYSTIC POET OF LOVE AND THE DEVOTEE OF KRISHNA AND RADHA: THE OPENING VERSE OF THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA*

IN THE interpretations or explanations of some of Jayadeva's verses, a good deal of complexity has arisen through the ascription of a sectarian point of view to these verses.

The opening verse of the *Gīta-govinda*—

> "meghair meduram ambaram, vana-bhuvaś śyāmās tamāla-drumair :
> naktam ; bhīrur ayam, tvam eva tad imaṃ, Rādhe ! gṛhaṃ prāpaya ;"
> itthaṃ Nanda-nideśatas calitayōḥ pratyadhva-kuñja-drumaṃ,
> "Rādhā-Mādhavyor jayanti Yamunā-kūle rahaḥ-kelayaḥ"

—has its plain meaning that it was at the instance of Nanda, Krishna's fond foster-father, that Radha took the latter home, as Krishna was afraid to return alone because of the dark and cloudy night ; and this opportunity was taken advantage of by the divine lovers, like human lovers under similar circumstances. This *līlā* or sport conjures up a little situation which the poet hails with the indulgence of devotion : the unsuspecting, doting old Nanda makes it easy for the lovers to have their wish to be all by themselves, and thus unwittingly helps in bringing about their union. But this simple and on the face of it quite a human situation was lost sight of by later Vaishṇava pietistic scholasticism is Bengal, and an approved interpretation, which would not tolerate the presence of Nanda it the scene, took the compound word "Nanda-nideśataḥ" to mean, not what undoubtedly was the meaning intended, viz., '*according to the direction of Nanda*', but '*joy-bringing message* (*of the Lovers' friends*)' or '*for the objective of bringing joy to them*', and made the first two lines an utterance not of Nanda but of a supposed friend of Radha or Krishna.

The contemporary anthology the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* gives two companion poems modelled on the above verse, one ascribed to Kesava-Sena, the son of King Lakshmana-Sena, and the other to the king himself. Prince Kesava-Sena evidently wished to furnish a companion verse to Jayadeva's opening verse in the *Gīta-govinda*, by suggesting a similar opportunity unwittingly brought about for the lovers by Yasoda, the foster-mother of Krishna : and Kesava-Sena's verse, which is in the same *Śardūla-vikrīḍita* metre, runs as follows :

āhūtādya mahōtsave (*or* mayōtsave), niśi gṛhaṃ śūnyaṃ
vimucyāgatā :
kṣībaḥ preṣya-janaḥ : kathaṃ kula-vadhūr, ekākini
yāsyati ?
vatsa, tvaṃ tad imāṃ nayālayam"—iti, śrutvā Yaśōdā-girō
Rādhā-Mādhavayōr jayanti madhura-smerālasā dṛṣṭayaḥ.

In this verse, it is Krishna who is asked by Yasoda to take Radha home, from the feast to which Radha has been called from her home to that of Yasoda, as the attendants who could be sent to accompany her have got drunk in the feast. This verse of prince Kesava-Sena quoted in the anthology, read along with the opening verse of the *Gīta-govinda*, makes it clear that "Nanda-nideśataḥ" can only mean '*at the bidding of Nanda*' and not what pietistic scholasticism of later Vaishanvism in Bengal would make the phrase mean. This common-sense interpretation of the first verse of the *Gīta-govinda* is also supported by a number of Kangra and other paintings depicting the whole scene—old king Nanda sending Krishna along with Radha, in the background of a pastoral scene in the forest.

The verse ascribed to king Lakshmana-Sena in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* may also be quoted, and its inspiration is also clear :

"Kṛṣṇa, tvad-vana-mālayā saha-kṛtaṃ, kenāpi kuñjōdare,
gōpī-kuntala-barha-dāma, tad idaṃ prāptaṃ mayā ;
gṛhyatām :"
itthaṃ dugdha-mukhena gōpa-śiśunākhyāte,
trapā-namrayōḥ
Rādhā-Mādhavayōr jayanti valita-smerālasā dṛṣṭayaḥ.

Here the old king seems to wind up the situation by suggesting that the tryst of the lovers was made known—also unwittingly, by an unsuspecting cowherd boy (dugdha-mukhena *still living on milk, i.e. an unweaned baby*, or dagdha-mukhena *a burnt-faced, i.e. silly and idiotic boy*), *who blurted out in company—"Krishna, I found these locks of hair of some Gōpī, tangled with the garland of wild flowers from your neck, in the midst of some wooded bower : take it." When addressed thus, both Rādhā and Krishṇa hung down their heads in shame, and their glances became beautiful and languid in their smiles—may such glances of these two be glorified.*

The refrain-like agreement in the first part of the fourth line in all the three verses ("Rādhā-Mādhavayōr jayanti......") is to be noted. These three verses probably record quite a pleasant episode in verse-composition by emulation in the court-circle, in which the ruler, his son, and the most esteemed poet of the day took part, with the other members of the circle participating with their approbation, one of whom, the anthologist Sridhara-dasa, recording all the three poems of the royal poets for posterity.

Apart from its importance in the context of Radha and Krishna's rendezvous in the course of their love-trysts, in which Vaishnava orthodoxy with its ideas of propriety which would not tolerate Krishna's father coming to the scene as a Galahaut (as in the Guenevere and Lancelot affair in the Arthurian legend) by helping the lovers to come together, the opening lines of this first verse of the poem has a great poetic value, as a wonderful evoking of a dark cloudy monsoon night.

This matter has been noticed with high poetic appreciation by many great writers and critics in India. Nature in Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* has the background of the joyous season of Spring, brilliant with the Sun's light and gorgeous with the various colours of the green plants and of the flowers, and resonant with the music of the songs of birds and the humming of bees and redolent with the fragrance of flowers. But the opening words of the very first verse bring to us the sombre and soothing atmosphere of the Rains, and critics have sought to interpret its significance. One thing is clear. The first phrases have a marvellous poetic beauty, in their truthful word-painting which is made all the more convincing because of the terseness of it all, recalling the aesthetic eloquence and artistic elegance of a Japanese *tanka* :

> meghair meduram ambaram :
> vana-bhuvaś, śyāmās tamāla-drumair :
> naktam.
> *The sky is shady and cool with clouds ;*
> *The wood-lands, they are dark with the* tamāla *trees* ;
> *It is night.*

Rabindranath Tagore, Balendranath Tagore, and other great literary artists in India have all been quite enthusiastic about the word-magic and the picture-magic which are so spontaneously evoked by the Muse of Jayadeva in this verse fragment. It easily lends itself to being detached from the whole *ślōka* and the entire *Kāvya*, with all its innate poetic sweetness as well as grandeur.

## VI. THE 26 VERSES BY JAYADEVA AS IN THE *SADUKTI-KARNĀMṚITA* COMPLETING WITH THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA*, *THE JAYADEVA CORPUS*: JAYADEVA A POET OF MANY STYLES

BEFORE taking up a study of Jayadeva's great masterpiece, the *Gīta-govinda*, it will be useful first to consider the 26 verses by Jayadeva quoted in the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛita* which are indicative of the wide range of Jayadeva's poetic interests and achievement which were not confined to love and eroticism alone. There is an undercurrent of Vaishnava faith and devotion, of course; but the *rasa* or literary flavour which is predominant in the *Gīta-govinda* is the *Śṛṅgāra* or love and love-play, and not the *Śānta*, the contemplative or devotional. The *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛita* verses as given below will be pertinent to the statement that Jayadeva, acknowledged as the great master in the *Śṛṅgāra-rasa*, could be equally at home in all the other *rasas*. And this is an evidence of his versatality as a poet, who could handle in the tradition of classical Sanskrit poetry all the various *rasas*, flavours or sentiments. His music played the lyre of seven strings and more, not just a one-stringed bow.

These verses quoted in the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛita* (verses which are not generally known), in the absence of other material, may be taken to form with the entire *Gīta-govinda* a complete *corpus* of Jayadeva's literary output, and as such they have a relevance in a study of Jayadeva. His *Gīta-govinda* is of course available in numerous printed editions and in Mss. English translations of the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛita* verses as quoted below have not been given, as these who can read Sanskrit will be able to get the gist of these verses. But comments on special points have been made.

The 26 New Verses ascribed to Jayadeva, as given in the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛita*:

(1) *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛita*, 1/4/4: *Mahādēva* (*Śiva*):

bhūti-vyājēna bhūmīm amara-pura-sarit-kāitavād
ambu vibhral
lalātâkşic-chalēna jvalana-mahīpati-śvāsa-lakşyam
samīram/
vistīrṇâghōra-vaktrôdara-kuhara-nibhēnâmbaraṁ
pañcabhūtāir
viśvaṁ śaśvad vitanvan vitaratu bhavataḥ sampadaṁ
Candra-māuliḥ//

(This is a benedictory invocation to Śiva, quite in the grand style of Sanskrit dramatic as well as epigraphical literature)

(2) *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, 1/50/3 : *Kalkī*, the 10th and last Incarnation of Vishnu :

Kalkī kalkaṁ haratu jagataḥ sphūrjad-ūrjasvi-tējā
vedôcchēda-sphurita-durita-dhvaṁsanc dhūma-kētuḥ/
yēnôtkşipya kşaṇam asi-latāṁ dhūmavat kalmaşêcchān
mlēcchān hatvā dalita-kalinâkāri satyâvatāraḥ//

(Also a benedictory invocation to Vishṇu in his Incarnation as Kalkin, the destroyer of the barbarians who brought in irrelegion and vice)

(3) 1/59/4 : *Kṛṣṇabhujaḥ* :
jayaśrī-vinyastāir mahita iva mandāra-kusumāiḥ
[=*Gīta-govinda* 11/34]//

(4) 1/60/5 : Gōvardhanôddhāraḥ :
"mugdhē—" "nātha, kimâttha ?" "tanvi, śikhari-
prāg-bhāra-bhugnō bhujah" :
"sāhāyyaṁ, priya, kiṁ bhajāmi ?" "sāubhagē,
dōrvallim āyāsaya"/
ity ullāsita-bāhu-mūla-vicalac-cēlâñcala-vyaktayō
Rādhāyāḥ kucayōr jayanti calitāḥ Kaṁsa-dvişō
dṛṣṭayaḥ//

(A verse or an incident with erotic implications on Krishna's bearing the Govardhana Hill on his uplifted palm. This verse is echoed by another in the same style quoted in the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛita* which is attributed to Umapati-dhara, a poet who was one of the contemporaries of Jayadeva. This verse of Umapati-dhara is numbered as I/55/3 in the *Sadukti-*

*Karṇāmṛita*, and it is found also in the *Padyâvalī* anthology of Rupa Gosvami, 16th century, as no. 259. The subject is given as *Hari-krīḍā* on love-sport of Hari or Krishna. The agreement of these two verses in having almost the same words at the end of the fourth line, like a refrain in a *Samasyā-pūrti*, is to be noted—like the first part of the fourth line in some other verses in the same *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* metre as quoted above, the verses by Jayadeva, by Lakshmana-Sena and by Kesava-Sena :

bhrū-vallī-calanāiḥ kayâpi, nayanônmeṣāiḥ kayâpi,
smita—
jyōtsnā-vicchuritāiḥ kayâpi, nibhṛtaṁ sambhā-
vityâdhvani//
garvốdbhēda-kṛtâvahēla-vinaya-śrī-bhāji Rādhânanē
sâtaṅkânunyaṁ jayanti patitāḥ Kaṁsa-dviṣō dṛṣṭayaḥ//)

(5) 1/85/5 : *Bahurūpakaś Candraḥ* :

krīḍā-karpūra-dīpas tridaśa-mṛgadṛśāṁ kāna-
sāmrājya-lakṣmī
prōtkṣiptâikâtapatraṁ śrama-śamana-calac-cāmaraṁ
kāminīnām/
kastūrī-paṅka-mudrâṅkita-madana-vadhū-mugdha-
gaṇḍôpadhānaṁ
dvipaṁ vyōmâmbu-rāśēḥ sphurati sura-purī-kēli-
haṁsaḥ sudhâṃśuḥ//

(An elaborate description of the Moon)

(6) 2/37/4 : *Vāsaka-sajjā* :
aṅgēṣv ābharaṇaṁ karōti [tanōti] bahuśaḥ
[=*Gīta-govinda*. 5/11]//

(7) 2/72/4 : *Adhdraḥ* :
vibhāti vimbâdhara-vallir asyāḥ smarasya bandhūka-
dhanur-latêva/
vinâpi bāṇēna guṇēna yêyaṁ yūnāṁ manāṁsi
prasabhaṁ bhinatti//

(The lips of the Beautiful One)

(8) 2/77/5 : *Rōmâvalī* :

harati Rati-patêr nitamba-vimba-stana-taṭa-
caṁkrama-saṁkramasya Lakṣmīm/
trivalī-bhava-taraṅga-nimnanābhī-hrada-padavīm
adhirōma-rājir asyāḥ//

(Hair below the abdomen)

(9) 2/132/4 : *Ratârambhaḥ* :
unmilat-pulakâṅkurēṇa niviḍâślēṣē nimiṣēṇa ca
[=*Gīta-govinda* 12/10]//

(Starting of Love-play)

(10) 2/134/4 : *Viparīta-ratam* :
Mārânke rati-keli...... [*Gīta-govinda* 12/12]//

(Playing the Man's part in the love-game)

(11) 2/137/5 : *Uṣasi priyā-darśanam* :
asyāh (tasyāḥ) pāṭala-pāṇijeṅkitam urō
[=*Gīta-govinda* 12/4]//

(How the Beloved looked at Dawn after the Night of Love)

(12) 2/170/5 : Śarat-khañjanaḥ :
madhura-madhuraṁ kūjann agrē patan muhur
utpatann
avirata-calat-pucchaḥ svêcchaṁ vicumbya ciraṁ
priyām/
iha hi śaradi kṣībaḥ pakṣāu vidhūya milan mudā
madayati rahaḥ kuñjē mañju-sthalīm adhi khañjanaḥ//

(The amorous *Khañjana*-bird in the garden bower)

(13) 3/5/4 ; *Dharmaḥ* :
yūpāir utkaṭa-kaṇṭakāir iva makha-prōdbhūta-
dhūmôdgamāir
apy andhaṃ-karaṇāuṣadhāir iva padē nētrē ca
jāta-vyathāiḥ/
yasmin dharma-parē praśāsati tapaḥ-saṃbhēdinīm
mēdinīm
āstām ākramituṃ vilōkitum api vyaktaṃ na śaktaḥ
Kaliḥ//

(The Ruler who performs his religious devoirs)

(14) 3/9/4 : *Karaḥ* :

tēṣām alpa-araḥ sa kalpa-viṭapī tēṣām nō cintā-maṇiś
cintām apy upayāti kāma-surabhis tēṣāṃ na kāmâspadam/
dīnôddhāra-dhurīṇa-puṇya-caritō yēṣām prasannō manāk
pāṇis tē dharṇindra sundara-yaśaḥ-saṃrakṣiṇō dakṣiṇaḥ//

(The Arm of the righteous Ruler)

(15) 3/9/5 : *Karaḥ* :

Dēva, tvat-kara-pallavō vi jayatām aśrānta-viśrāṇana-
krīḍā-skandita-kalpa-vṛkṣa-vibhavaḥ kīrtti-prasūnôjjvalaḥ/
yasyôtsarga-jalac-chalēna galitāḥ syandāna-dānôdaka-
srōtōbhir viduṣāṃ lalāṭa-likhitā dāinyâkṣara-śrēṇayaḥ//

(The Arm of the generous or charitable Ruler)

(16) 3/10/4 : *Caraṇaḥ* :

Laksmī-vibhrama-padma-subhagaṁ kē nāma nôrvī-bhujō
Dēva, tvac-caraṇaṁ vrajanti śaraṇaṁ Śrī-rakṣaṇâkāṅkṣiṇaḥ//
chāyāyām anugamya samyag-abhayās tvad-vīrya-sūryâtapa-
vyāptām apy avanīm aṭanti ripavas tyaktâtapatrāḥ sukham//

(The Foot of a puissant Ruler)

(17) 3/11/5 : *Priya-vyākhyānam* :

Lakṣmī-keli-bhujaṁga ! Jaṁgama-Harē ! Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma !
Śrēyaḥ-sādhaka-saṅga ! Saṅgara-kalā-Gāṅgēya ! Vaṅga-priya !/
Gāuḍêndra ! Prati-rāja-nāyaka ! Sabhālaṅkāra ! Karṇârpita-
pratyarthi-kṣitipāla ! Pālaka satāṁ ! dṛṣṭō'si, tuṣṭā vayam//

(Panegyric to a Great Ruler, of Vaṅga and Gauḍa)

(18) 3/15/5 : *Dēśâśrayaḥ* :

“tvaṁ Cōlôllôla-līlāṁ kalayasi, kuruṣe karṣaṇaṁ Kuntalānāṁ,
tvaṁ Kāñcinyañcanāya prabhavasi ! rabhasād Aṅga-saṅgaṁ karōṣi/
itthaṁ Rājêndra ! vandi-stutibhir suphitôtkampam evâdya dīrghaṁ
nārīṇām apy arīṇāṁ hṛdayam udayatê tvat-padârādhanāya//

(Panegyric to a Great Conqueror, victor over Cōla, Kuntala, Kāñcī, and Aṅga)

(19) 3/19/5 : *Vikramaḥ* :

śikṣantē cāṭuvādān vidadhati yavāsan ānanē kānanēṣu
bhrāmyanti jyā-kiṇâṅkaṁ vidadhati śiviraṁ kurvatē parvatēṣu/
abhyasanti prayāṇāṁ tvayi calati camū-cakra-vikranti-bhāji
prāṇa-trāṇāya Dēva ! tvad ari-nṛpatayas cakrirē Kārmaṇāni//

(A Warrior King, great in his heroic qualities)

(20) 3/20/5 : *Pāuruṣam* :

Bhīṣmaḥ klīvakatāṁ dadhāra, samiti Drōnena muktaṁ dhanur,
mithyā Dharma-sutēna jalpitam abhūd, Duryōdhanō durmadaḥ/
chidrēṣv ēva Dhanaṁjayasya vijayaḥ, Karṇaḥ pramādī tataḥ ;
śrīmann, asti na Bhāratē'pi bhavatō yaḥ pāuruṣāir vardhatē//

(Heroic qualities—a Hero King who is superior to the Heroes of the *Mahābhārata*)

(21) 3/23/5 : *Tējaḥ* :

ēkaṁ dhāma śamīṣu līnam aparaṁ sūryôtpala-jyōtiṣāṁ
vyājād adriṣu gūḍham anyad udadhāv saṁguptam āurvāyatē/

tvat-tējas tapanâṁśu-māṁsala-samuttāpēna durgaṁ
bhayād
vārkṣaṁ pārvatam āudakaṁ yadi yayus tējāṁsi
kiṁ pārthivāḥ//

(The King's fierly splendour superior to anything Nature and Earth can show)

(22) 3/29/5 : *Āścarya-khaḍga* :
śrīkhaṇḍa-mūrtiḥ saralâṅga-yaṣṭir mākandam
āmūlam ahō vahantī/
śrīman ! bhavat-khaḍga-tamāla-vallī citraṁ raṇē
śrī-phalam ātanōti//

(The wonderous Sword of the King)

(23) 3/34/3 : *Tūrya-dhvanih* :
guñjat-krāuñca-nikuñja-kuñjara-ghaṭā-vistīrṇa-
karṇa-jvarāḥ
prāk-pratyag-dharaṇîndra-kandara-jarat-pārîndra-
nidrā-druhaḥ/
laṅkâṅka-tri-kakut-pratidhvani-ghanaḥ paryanta-
yātrā-jayē
yasya bhrēmur amanda-mandara-ravāir āśā-rudhō
ghōṣaṇāḥ//

(The blare of the conquering King's Trumpets)

(24) 3/34/4 : *Tūrya-dhvaniḥ* :
yasyâvirbhūta-bhiti-pratibhaṭa-pṛtanā-garbhiṇī-
bhrūṇa-bhāra-
bhraṁśa-bhrēśâbhibhūtyāi plavanam iva bhajann
ambhasāmhōnidhīnām//
saṁbhāraṁ saṁbhramasya tribhuvanam abhitō
bhū-bhṛtām bibhrad uccāiḥ
saṁrambhôjjṛmbhaṇāya pratiraṇam abhavad
bhūri-bhēri-ninādaḥ//

(The war-horns of the King—the alliteration with / *bh-* / to be noted)

(25) 3/34/5 : *Tūrya-dhvaniḥ* :
Vighaṭṭayann ēṣa hatād akuṇṭha-vāikuṇṭha-
kaṇṭhīrava-kaṇṭha-garjām/

bhayaṁkarō dik-karīṇāṁ raṅâgrē bhērī-ravō
bhāirava-duḥśravas tē//

(Trumpets of the King's army sounding in battle)

(26) 3/38/3 : *Yuddham* :
śatrūṇāṁ kāla-rātrāu samiti samuditē bāṇa-
varṣândhakārē
prāg-bhārē khaḍga-dhārāṁ saritam iva samuttīrya
magnârivaṁśām/
anyônyâghāta-matta-dvirada-ghanaghaṭā-danta-
vidyuc-chaṭābhiḥ
paśyantīyaṁ samantād abhisarati mudā sāṁyugīnaṁ
jaya-śrīḥ//

(A description of a Battle)

(27) 3/39/4 : *Yuddha-sthalī* :
niryan-nārāca-dhārā-caya-khacita-patan-matta-
mātaṅga-jātaṁ
jātaṁ yasyâri-sēnā-rudhira-jala-nidhāv antarīpa-
bhramāya/
suptā yasmin ratāntē saha ca sahacarāir nālavan-
nāga-nāsā-
randhra-dvandvâika-pātrē rudhira-madhu-rasaṁ
prēta-kāntāḥ pibanti//

(The aftermath of the Battle—the gruesome picture of the demons of battle)

(28) 3/40/5 : *Dig-vijayaḥ* :
ekaḥ saṁgrāma-riṅgat-turaga-khura-rajō-rājibhir
naṣṭa-dṛṣṭir
dig-yātrā-jāitra-matta-dvirada-bhara-namad-bhūmi-
bhagnas tathânyaḥ/
vīrā kē nāma tasmāt tri-jagati na yayuḥ kṣinatāṁ
kāṇa-kubja-
nyāyād ētēna muktâvabhayam abhajatāṁ Vāsavō
Vāsukiś ca//

(The triumphal March of Hero King)

(29) 3/52/5 : *Praśasta-kīrttiḥ* :

malinayati vāiri-vadanaṁ, svajanaṁ rañjayati,
dhavalayati dhātrīm/
api kusuma-viśada-mūrttir yat-kīrttiś citram ācarati//

(The Glory of the Ruler's Conquests)

(30) 5/16/4 : *Diśaḥ* :

astu svastyayanāya dig-dhana-patēḥ kāilasa-
śāilâśraya-
śrī-kaṇṭhâbharaṇêndu-vibhramadivā-naktaṁ
bhramat-kāumudī/
yatrâlaṁ Nalakūvarâbhisaraṇârambhāya
Rambhā-sphurat-
pāṇḍimnêva tanōs tanōti viraha-vyagrâpi vēśa-graham//

(The Ten Quarters of the Sky glorify the Hero King)

(31) 5/18/2 ; *Vīraḥ* :

dhātrīm ēkâtapatrāṁ samiti kṛtavatā caṇḍa-
dôrdaṇḍa-darpād
āsthānē pāda-namra-pratibhaṭa-mukuṭâdarśa-
vimbôdarēṣu/
utkṣiptac-chatra-cihnaṁ pratiphalitam api svaṁ
vapur vīkṣya kiñcit
sâsūyaṁ yēna dṛṣṭāḥ kṣiti-tala-vilasaṇ māulayō
bhūmi-pālāḥ//

(Vanquished Rulers paying Homage to the Victor).

From the above verses as given in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, it is quite clear that Jayadeva was not a poet who wrote only on the sentiment of love. Other *rasas* or sentiments as discussed in Sanskrit Poetics like *Vīra*, *Rāudra*, *Adbhuta* and *Śānta* have also been treated by Jayadeva with equal beauty and force. Of the thirty-one *ślokas* ascribed to Jayadeva in this anthology, five have been taken from his *Gīta-govinda*. From the nature of the other twenty-six verses quoted, one would feel inclined to think that Jayadeva might have written at least two (or may be three) other works—one appears to have been on the story of Krishna, like the *Gīta-govinda* (verses No. 2, 7, 8, 12 as quoted above deal with the Krishna theme, judging from their subject matter) ; and the other work (or works) would appear to be on the glory of king Lakshmana-Sena—Lakshmana-Sena was well known as a warrior, and these verses, numbering 13–31 as quoted above, deal with the praise of Lakshmana-Sena and with the themes of heroism, and these would belong to second (or a second and a third) work. Lakshmana-Sena evidently was a distinguished soldier, and he is said to have gone to South India on a fighting expedition. We get this information from the *Pavana-dūta* by poet Dhoyī, which is connected with Lakshmana-Sena's campaign in South India. How far this is historically true is not known. It might be quite well a poetic fiction intented by the court Panegyrist, who might have exaggerated a raid into Orissa (unconfirmed though it is) into a triumphal march of conquest right down into the Tamil country. It is quite likely that Jayadeva also, as one of the poets of Lakshmana-Sena's court, wrote a long work like Dhoyī himself, but in a slightly different style, celebrating the military glories of his patron king Lakshmana-Sena. Besides, the other poems in this anthology (Nos. 1, 4, 5 and possibly also Nos. 12, 13, as quoted above) may be from Jayadeva's scattered verses, which may not belong to any regular book. If Jayadeva's pesition had not been well-established as a poet among courtly circles as well as possibly also among the general mass of Sanskrit readers, Srīdhara-dasa would not have quoted so many verses from Jayadeva. This close connexion with the court and personality of Lakshmana-Sena, equally the patron of a number of other great poets associated with Bengal from whom Srīdhara-dasa has also quoted, would be in support of Jayadeva's connexion with Bengal and the courtly circle at Navadvipa, Bengal's capital city.

## VII. JAYADEVA'S POETIC *DIG-VIJAYA*—THROUGHOUT INDIA AND THE WORLD

JAYADEVA'S fame appears to have spread over the whole of India very rapidly. His *Gīta-govinda* met a want which literary men in both Sanskrit and the newly rising vernaculars were feeling—the book presented a wedding of the spirit of Classical Sanskrit with that of *Apabhraṃśa* and the New Indo-Aryan *Bhāshās*. Legend and Romance as an aid to the Hindu revival through the Bhakti movemenl was presented in a charming form in the *Gīta-govinda*. Within one hundred years of its appearance, we find that a verse from it is quoted as a benedictory invocation in an inscription in distant Gujarat, in Patan (Anahilavada), dated Samvat 1348=1292 A.D. (See article by Manmohan Chakravarti, referred to above). Its popularity in Gujarat and Rajasthan became as great as in Bengal and Orissa, in the Panjab Hills and in the North Indian Plains. Lines and tags are quoted and ideas are borrowed in Bengali, Oriya, 'Hindi', and Gujarati poetry from very early times. The *Śrī-krishnaKirttana* of Baḍu Chandidasa, the oldest Middle Bengali poet (c. 1400 ?) whose work we have, has paraphrased two songs from *Gīta-govinda*, and many of its lines elsewhere in the poem are reminiscent of Jayadeva. The early Gujarati poem the *Vasanta-Vilāsa* (composed c. 1450 A.D., according to Professor Kantilal B. Vyas, and about 1350 A.D. in the opinion of Muni Śrī-Jina-Vījayaji) similarly shows verses which have echoes of the *Gīta-govinda* (e.g. verses 7, 19, 32, 36, 69 ff.). Some 40 commentaries of the *Gīta-govinda* have been listed by Dr. Harekrishna Mukherji Sāhitya-ratna in his comprehensive study of the *Gīta-govinda* (in Bengali—4th edition, Bengali Year 1372, Agrahāyaṇa). One of the earliest of these is the *Rasika-priyā* by Rana Kumbha of Mewar (1433–1468 A.D.), which is quite a learned and an extensive work. The *Gīta-govinda* is thus one of the most commented works of Sanskrit. These commentators belong to all parts of India, including

South India. At least 15 Sanskrit poems by different writers, paying a high compliment to the *Gīta-govinda* by imitating it, have been composed, excluding a few in the vernaculars. There were a number of Middle Bengali and Middle Oriya translations or adaptations of the *Gīta-govinda*, and Dr. Harekrishna Mukherji names the following three Bengali translations specially—those by Rasamaya Dasa, Jagat Simha and Ragunatha Dasa. We learn from an Oriya inscription in the Jagannath temple at Puri dated 1499 A.D., which was inscribed under the orders of King Pratapa-rudra, that from that date only the songs and poems of the *Gīta-govinda* and from no other work were to be sung and racited by the *Dēva-dāsīs*, temple dancers and singers, serving in the temple (cf. Manmohan Chakravarti in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 96–97). Its place in what may be called the 'Apabhraṃśa' and 'Early Hindī' Pictorial Art (the so-called Old Gujarati and Early Rajput Art) of medieval India and in the 'Later Hindī' art of Rajasthan, Bundelkhand, Basohli, Chamba and Kangra, as well as in the local art of other parts of India—Bengal, Assam, Orissa, the Telugu Country—has been quite considerable.

With the discovery and study of Sanskrit by European scholars, Jayadeva's poetic genius was immediately appreciated. His great poem was translated into English by Sir William Jones (1746–1794), and then by Friedrich Rueckert (1788–1866) into German, and they were followed by other translators in French, English, German, and other European languages. The *Gīta-govinda* has now been accepted as one of masterpieces even of world literature.

## VIII. THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA*—A REFLEX OF LATE MIDDLE-INDO-ARYAN OR EARLY NEW INDO-ARYAN LITERATURE IN ITS SONGS *(GĪTAS)* ?

THE *Gīta-govinda* combines the spirit of Classical Sanskrit poetry and that of *Apabhraṃśa* and Early *Bhāshā* poetry. Its 12 *sargas* or cantos contain 24 *gītas* or songs, or to give an alternative name, 24 *padas* or lyrics, scattered through the work. The framework of the poem, as in the verses forming the descriptive portion, is in the orthodox style of Classical Sanskrit, in manner and metre, in ideas and vocabulary ; but the *padas* or songs breathe the atmosphere of *Apabhraṃśa* and Early *Bhāshā* or New Indo-Aryan. The metres are the moric ones of *Apabhraṃśa* and Early *Bhāshā*. More than one scholar has suspected that the songs were originally written in *Apabhraṃśa* or Old *Bhāshā* (Old Bengali in this case) (cf. Pischel referring to Lassen in this *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 32 ; Bijaya Chandra Majumdar in the Introduction to his Bengali translation of the *Gīta-govinda*). It is not unlikely that this *Apabhraṃśa* or Old Bengali verses obtained a great popularity, and this induced Jayadeva to render them into Sanskrit, to give them a permanent and a pan-Indian form. This is of course a surmise, but it is based on four facts, as given below :

(i) The *Apabhraṃśa* and Old *Bhāshā* (as opposed to the Classical Sanskrit) character of the 24 *Padas* or *Gītas* in their rhythm and rime, and lilt, is quite clear. This need not be discussed in detail, as it is apparent on the face of it.

(ii) The presence of a mass of *Apabhraṃśa* (and *Avahaṭṭha* i.e. *Apabhraṣṭha*) and Old *Bhāshā* poems recalling many of the *gītas* of Jayadeva's work, which are to be found in works like the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgala* (end of the 15th century) and the *Mānasollāsa* or the *Abhilashitārtha-Cintāmaṇi* (first half of the 12th century). (See in this connexion my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I, First Edition, Calcutta 1926 :

Reprint 1970, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. pp. 123–27, and Vol. III, First Edition, 1972, George Allen & Unwin L'd. pp. 29–31. See also the first volume of Dr. Sukumar Sen's 5-volume *History of Bengali Literature*, in Bengali).

(iii) A few of the lines in the songs read better as *Apabhraṃśa* or *Old Bhāshā* than as Sanskrit, and fit in better with the scheme of pauses in the line which agrees with Old Bengali very closely (e.g. the line 'Smarati mano mama kṛta-parithāsam' in the refrain of Song 5, Sarga II, gives a better subdivision into feet when rendered in the Apabhraṃśa—'sumaraī maṇa mama-kia-parihāsaṃ'=*'My mind remembers Him who laughed and played with us'* ; the line "Śrī-Jayadeva-Kaver idam kurute mudaṃ maṅgalam ujjvala-gīti" *'The Maṅgala or narrative poem with its songs of love or passion* (ujjvalagīti) *by the Poet Śrī Jayadeva—may it bring joy'*) has one *mātrā* or mora in excess in the first and second feet, which can be rectified by reading these feet in the *Apabhraṃśa* style as "Śrī-Jayadeva-Kaver idā-kurute mudā", as it has been pointed out by Dr. Sukumar Sen—who however is not in favour of regarding the songs of Jayadeva as being originally in anything but Sanskrit). The metres of the songs have their counterparts in the vernacular metres of Bengali and other Eastern *Bhāshās*.

(iv) Finally, the *Gīta-govinda*, inspite of its being a narrative poem, has a dramatic element in it : the songs sung by the Gopi friends of Radha and Krishna, or by the divine lovers themselves, are like so many speeches. It unquestionably had something to do in evolution of the popular *Yatra* or song-drama of the old type in Bengal on the one hand, in all possibility being in part modelled on some kind of primitive vernacular narrative-cum-conversation-cum-lyric with the background of instrumental music ; and on the other, it would appear to be connected with a tradition which continued to flourish in Mithila or North Bihar in which we have dramas with the dialouges in Sanskrit and Prakrit prose, exactly as in the Sanskrit drama, but the verses or songs are noted by Sir George Abraham Grierson in his *Maithili Grammar and Chresto-*

*mathy* (Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Second Edition, 1909, pp. xiv, xv). Grierson himself has published one such drama in the '*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*', Patna, for 1917 (the *Pārijāta-haraṇa* of Umapati Upadhyaya of the first quarter of the 14th century). This tradition passed on to Nepal: in the Newari courts of the states of Patan, of Bhakta-grama or Bhatgaon, of Kirttipura or Kastha-mandapa (Katha-mado) in Eastern Nepal, the tradition was modified to some extent—the dialogues were in a broken Bengali or Maithili, and the songs in the Maithili or Kosali (Eastern Hindi), with stage directions in the Tibeto-Burman Newari. In that very important Early Middle Bengali poem on the Radha-Krishna theme by Ananta Badu Candidasa, viz. the *Krishna-Kirttana* (a work of uncertain date, and opinions among some scholars take it back to about 1400 A.D., and among others to the sixteenth century), we have both narrative portions as well as dialogues. In these dialogues we find two or even three characters speaking and replying or having a "flytte" or dispute in verse.

There is a theory noted above that in the *Gīta-govinda* we have a transformation, by a slight alteration of some of the forms of the language, from *Apabhraṃśa* or *Avahaṭṭha* or early Vernacular into Sanskrit, in order to give a greater prestige to these vernacular compositions. The vogue and influence of such Sanskritisation of Apabhramsa or early Vernaculars was wide enough at the turn of the first millennium A.D. So that it is quite conceivable that the *Gīta-govinda* in its first draft or primitive form, with its Apabhramsa or vernacular *gītas* or songs and its Classical Sanskrit frame-work, was but in the line of a literary tradition which had developed in Eastern India, and then it was easy to render the *gītas* or songs into good Sanskrit, with Apabhramsa traits lingering as a palimsest in one or two lines and the more regular and more mellifluous Apabhramsa lilt being modified to the severe rhythm of Sanskrit.

## IX. THE TWO HYMNS ASCRIBED TO JAYADEVA IN THE SIKH *GURU GRANTH SAHIB (ĀDI GRANTH)*

WE DO NOT know if apart from the *Gīta-govinda*—its Sanskrit verses and its songs both—Jayadeva wrote any other long work ; but the single verses attributed to him in the *Sadukti-karnāmṛita*, which, as noted before, show him to be a writer in the heroic sentiment as well. Probably he had one or more long Sanskrit poems to his credit, from which these verses were taken ; probably he wrote these verses a *vers d'occasion*. But the tradition of the Bhakti Schools in Northern India knew of one or more Jayadevas with *Old Bhāshā* lyrics to his credit ; and according to the current opinion, these *Bhāshā* poems were written by the author of the *Gīta-govinda*, who became translated to the domain of saints and devotees of the Vaishnava faith within a couple of centuries after his demise.

In the Panjab also, Jayadeva obtained a place in the list of the great saints of India, and Guru Arjun, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs who compiled about 1605 A.D. the *Ādi-Granth* (*Guru Granth*, or *Granth Sāhib*), has included in the *Granth* two poems, one in Apabhramsa and Sanskrit mixed and the other in *Old Bhāshā* which have the 'signature' of Jayadeva in the last verse. There is no absolute certainty whethre the author (or authors ?) of these two poems and Jayadeva of the *Gīta-govinda* are the same person. The Sikh tradition makes them the same. (For the Sikh tradition which is that of the Middle Hindi work the *Bhakta-māla*, see M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford 1909, Volume VI).

The *Ādi-Granth* is a sort of *medieval Ṛigveda* in which the mass of devotional hymns, as they were current in the Panjab and North Indian plains, and were composed by different medieval saints and devotees from the 12th century to the end of the 16th are collected—so far as the compiler knew them or found them or approved of them. The oldest of these saints were Jayadeva from Bengal (12th century), Nāmadeva from

Maharashtra (13th century), and Rāmānanda from Eastern Hindustan (14th century); and Kabīr (15th century) is best represented of all the saints and *bhagats* (*bhaktas*) outside of the Sikh circle, who are 16 in number in the *Granth*.

The two poems of Jayadeva in the *Guru Granth Sāhib* come under Rāga Gujarī and Rāga Mārū. (I greatfully recall that these references were given to me by my most esteemed friend and colleague the late Professor Indu Bhushan Banerji of the University of Calcutta, eminent authority on Sikh history). They have been both translated by Macauliffe (*op. cit.*, pp. 15-17). The texts run as follows:

(i) *Śrī-Jaidēwa-jiu-kā Padā* (*Rāga Gujarī*)
Paramādi purukha manōpimam sati ādi bhāwa-rataṃ/
Paramadbhutaṃ parakriti-paraṃ jadi cinti saraba-gataṃ//1//
Rahāū—
Kēwala Rāma-nāma manōramaṃ badi amrita-tata-māiaṃ/
na danōti jasat maraṇēna janama-jarādhi-maraṇa-bhaiaṃ//
ichasi Jamādi-parābhawaṃ jasu swasati sukriti-kritaṃ/
bhawa-bhūta-bhāwa samabyiaṃ paramaṃ parasannamidaṃ//2//
lōbhādi-drisaṭi paragrihaṁ jadi bidhi ācaraṇaṃ/
taji sakala duhakrita duramatī bhaju Cakradhara-saraṇaṃ//3//
Hari-bhagata nija nihakēwalā rida karamaṇā bacasā/
jōgēna kiṃ jagēna kiṃ dānena kiṃ tapasā//4//
Gōbinda Gōbindēti japi nara sakala-sidhi-padaṃ/
Jaidēwa āiu tasa saphuṭaṃ bhawa-bhūta-saraba-gataṃ//5//

The above was also translated into German and commented upon by E. Trumpp in the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der Kōningliche baeyrische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich 1879, in his "Die altesten Hindui-Gedichte", pp. 8–16. The poem is in Sanskrit corrupted by scribes who read it in a vernacular Eastern Indian pronunciation, with a number of Apabhraṃśa and vernacular forms. To start with, it may have been originally written wholly in Apabhraṃśa, and then badly Sanskritised, with a vernacular Bengali or Eastern Indian pronunciation showing through the spelling, which was further modified in the Gurumukhi script in the *Granth*. A Sanskrit *chāyā* is given below :

Paramādi-puruṣam anupamam sad-ādi-bhāva-ratam/
Paramādbhutam prakṛti-paraṃ yad-acintyaṃ
sarva-gatam//1//
Rahāū (= *Refrain*)
Kēvalam Rāma-nāma manōramam vada amṛta-
tattva-mayam/
na dunōti yat-smaraṇēṇa janma-jarâdhi-maraṇa-
bhayam//
icchasi Yamâdi-parābhavaṃ, yaśaḥ, svasti, sukṛta-
kṛtam [=sukṛtam] kuruta (?)
bhava-bhūta-bhāva samavyayam paramam prasannam
idam (*or* -midam = mida=midu *or* mudu=mṛdu ?
—Trumpp)//2//
lōbhādi-dṛṣṭi-parigraham yad avidhi-ācaraṇam/
tyaja sakala-duṣkṛtaṃ durmatiṃ, bhaja
Cakradhara-śaraṇam//3//
Hari-bhaktaḥ nija niṣkēvala (?)-hrdā karmaṇā vacasā/
yōgēna kiṃ, yajñēna kiṃ, dānēna kim, (kiṃ) tapasā//4//
Gōvinda, Gōvindeti japa, nara, sakala-siddhi-padam/
Jayadēva āyātah tasya sphuṭam, bhava-bhūta-
sarva-gatam//5//

There is no difficulty in following the sense of the above ; and the entire poem though not lacking in coherence of thought certainly lacks coherence in language—which may be due to the Apabhraṃśa or Old Bengali original struggling with the thoughts. An English translation is not necessary : quite a good translation will be found in Macauliffe's work, Vol. VI pp. 15–16.

(ii) *Bānī Jaidēwa-jiū-kī* (*Rāga Mārū*):

Canda sata bhēdiyā, nāda sata pūriyā,
sūra sata khōḍasā dattu kiyā/
abala bala tōḍiya, acala cala thappiyā,
aghaḍa ghaḍiyā, tahā āpiu piyā//1//
mana ādi guṇa ādi wakhāniyā
tērī dubidhā driṣṭi sammāniyā//Rahāū//
ardha-kau aradhiyā, sardhi-kau saradhiyā,
salala-kau salali sammāniāyā/
badati Jaidēwa, Jaidēwa-kau rammiyā,
Brahma-nirbāṇa liwa līna pāyā//2//

The above is more clearly in Bhāshā rather than in the Apabhraṃśa stage as regards language, and its original may have been Old Bengali, or, rather, Old Western Hindi. Here, too, we find the orthography of the Sanskrit words indicating an Eastern Indian pronunciation. This poem has not been noted by Trumpp in his article of 1879, mentioned above: Macauliffe gives a translation following the Sikh tradition (pp. 16–17 of his Sixth Volume). Below I attempt one, basing on Macauliffe and on Bisan Singh Gyānī's Panjabi explanation in his *Bhagat-Wāṇī*:

(1) *Pierced* (bhēdiyā) *with breath* (sata=sattva=prāṇa), *the moon* (canda=candra=Īḍā, *the left nostril; i.e I performed the* pūraka *movement in* prāṇāyāma, *the breath-control exercise in Yōga*); (*I*) *filled* (pūriyā) *with breath the* nāda (*the* Suṣumnā, *the space between the two nostrils at the top of the nose*: *i.e. I performed the* kumbhaka); (*I*) *gave up* (dattu kiyā) *the breath by the sun* (sūra=Piṅgalā, *the right nostril*: *i.e. I performed the* rēcaka *movement*)—*sixteen times* (khōḍasa=ṣōḍaśa: *i.e. in repeating the* praṇava *or* Oṃ-kāra *sixteen times, in each of the process of taking in, holding and ejecting the breath in performing* prāṇāyāma).

*Without strength* (abala), (*its*) *strength broken* (tōḍiyā: *i.e. the strength of the earthly frame has been broken, and it has been made weak physically*); *in the unmoving or fixed* (acala), (*my*) *unfixed or moving or unstable* (cala: *i.e.* (*mind or breath*) *has been established* (thappiyā); *the unfashioned* (*mind*) (aghaḍa) *has been fashioned* (ghaḍiyā); *then or there* (tahā) *nectar* (āpiu=amṛta, according to traditional explanation: amṛta= *ambrita=*ambia, *ambiu, *abbiu, *appiu, āpiu ?) *has been drunk* (*by me*) (piyā).

(*I have*) *described* (*Him who is*) *the beginning of the mind* (*or soul*) *and of the* (*three*) *qualities* (guṇas—sattva, rajasa, tamas). *Thy two-fold sight* (*i.e. the idea that Thou and I are distinct*) *has been lost* (sammāniyā: *Panjabi explanation*—samā jāndī hai= '*enters*'). *With reference to the adorable ones* (ardha= ārādhya), *adoration has been made* (aradhiyā=ārādhita); *with reference to that* (*those*) *which is* (*are*) *to be trusted or believed in* (sardhi=śraddhin), *trust has been given* (saradhiyā=śraddhita-) *as for the water* (salala=salila), *it has become blended* (summniāyā) *in the water*.

*Jayadeva says* (badati=vadati): (*I*) *have taken joy* (rammiyā) *in the God who triumphs* (Jaya-dēva); *receiving* (liwa) *absorption* (nirbāṇa=nirvāṇa) *in Brahman*, (*I*) *have received* (pāyā) *final absorption* (līna=līna).

The above *Vāṇī* or religious poem of Jayadeva in the vernacular is in the usual line of religious and devotional poetry of *Yoga* inspiration which characterised all Indian schools of thought from the middle of the first millennium A.D. onwards, and it was particularly strong in the centuries immediately preceding and following c. 1000 A.D. Their ring is that of the Old Bengali *Caryāpadas* of later Mahāyāna Sahajiyā (Sahajayāna) Buddhist inspiration on the one hand, which were partly contemporaneous with Jayadeva of the *Gīta-govinda*, and on the other of the mystic poems attributed to the Śaiva Yogic order of Gōrakh-nāth and his school (12th–13th centuries) and also of Kabīr and other early *Sants* who were *bhagats* (*bhakts*) or devotees of Bhakti school in their main affiliation, but were at the same time practisers of *Yoga*.

The second poem of 'Jayadeva' in the *Guru-Granth* may also very well be by Jayadeva of the *Gīta-govinda* himself, and this would make him one of the first poets in Bhāshā, as much as in Sanskrit (and probably also Apabhraṃśa).

## X. 'MANGALA' AND 'PADĀVALĪ'—IN JAYADEVA'S *GĪTA-GOVINDA* AND IN MIDDLE BENGALI LITERATURE: BENGAL'S *ĀDI-KAVI*—JAYADEVA

APART FROM the great and wide-spread influence exerted on the later Bhāshā literature in general all over Aryan India, Jayadeva is certainly to be regarded as one of the founders and inspirers of Bengali literature in particular. He was a young contemporary of the Buddhist *Caryā* poets, with his songs in the *Gīta-govinda*, called *gītas* in the poem itself but known also as *padas* (c.f. the first poem in the *Ādi-Granth*, ascribed to him, which is described as a *pada*, and c.f. his own use of the term in the expression *padāvalī* in "madhura-kōmala-kānta-padāvlīm sṛṇu' tadā Jayadēva-sarasvatīm", *Gīta-govinda* 1, 3), stand at the head of Bengali literature as much as do the *Caryāpadas* (c. 950–1200 A.D.). Medieval Bengali literature presents *two* distinct *genres* or types : (A) Narrative Poems, describing the story or legend of some God or great character, which were known as *Maṅgalas* (these *Maṅgalas* dealt with Puranic deities and deified heroes like Candi or Śrī-Krishna or Ramchandra, or with local divinities and heroes of Bengal like Dharma Thākur, Dharma-Pāla and King Lāu-Sena, the Snake Goddess Manasā and the deathless love of Bihulā (Vipulā) for her husband Lakhindhar (Lakshmīn-dhara), like the merchant Dhanapati and his wives Lahanā (? Lōbhanā) and Khullanā (? Kshudra-ṇā) and his son Śrīmanta and their adventures, the huntsman Kālaketu and his wife Phullarā) ; and (B) Lyrics, purely devotional and partly erotic, which were called *padas* (the *pada* literature of Vaishnava origin forming the most important and the most distinctive part of Middle Bengali literature). Jayadeva's *padāvalī* as in the *Gīta-govinda* stands at the head of the *pada* literature of Middle Bengali, to a greater extent than do the *Caryā-padas* of the Buddhists. The two-fold division of poetical writings in Middle Bengali into *Maṅgala* and *Pada* is to some extent like the classification of Persian and Urdu Poetry into *Razm* or "War and Narrative Poetry" and *Bazm* or "Intimate Gathering to Sing or Study Lyric and Love Poetry", and of Old Tamil Poetry in *Puram* or "Narration", and *Akam* or "Love".

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Middle Bengali—nay, even to a large extent Modern Bengali—lyrics of Vaishnava inspiration are based on the songs of the *Gīta-govinda*. Then, Jayadeva's narrative account of the love of Krishna and Radha, although in Classical Sanskrit, is to be looked upon as the oldest *maṅgala-kāvya* of Bengal which is still popular, almost as a book of the people. Jayadeva's single work combines the characteristics of the two *genres*, for it not only includes his *padas*—gives his *padāvalī* of 24 songs—but also is a *maṅgala-kāvya* as Jayadeva himself describes it as such in I, 25 (Song 2 : "Śrī-Jayadēva-Kavēr idaṃ kurutē mūdam maṅgalam ujjvala-gīti" '*this* maṅgala, i.e. maṅgala-kāvya *dealing with the auspicious story of Krishna and Rādhā, with its songs of the* ujjvala-rasa *or the sentiment of love, composed by Śrī-Jayadēva the poet—may it bring joy*). So the supreme pre-eminence of Jayadeva in his own part of India as the finished poet in both narration and lyrical composition can be well understood. Although no actual *authentic* specimens of his Apabhraṃśa and Old Bengali compositions are available—barring the two poems in the Sikh *Guru-Granth* which are to some extent problematical, and barring also the possibility of the songs in the *Gīta-govinda* being originally in Apabhraṃśa or Old Bengali, he can with justice be hailed the *Ādi-Kavi*, the First Finished Poet of Bengali, as he is the Last of the Classic Poets of pre-Muslim India.

## XI. JAYADEVA'S PRE-EMINENCE AS A SAINT-POET: THE *BHAKTA-MĀLA'S* TRIBUTE

CONSIDERING his pan-Indian influence in the fields of both Sanskrit and Bhāshā literature and his exalted place in the literature of medieval Vaishnavism, the encomium paid by Nābhāji-dāsa the author of *Bhakta-māla*, in the 16th century, in these early Brajbhāshā lines, is quite justified :

> "Jayadēwa kawi nṛpa-cakkawaī, khaṇḍa-maṇḍalēśwara āni kawi//
> pracura bhayō tihu lōka Gīta-gōwinda ujāgara
> kōka-kābya-nawa-rasa-sarasa-śṛṅgāra-kau āgara//
> aṣṭapadi abhyāsa karaī, tihi buddhi baṛhāwaī/
> Rādhā-ramaṇa prasanna sunata hān niścai āwaī//
> santa-sarōruha-khaṇḍa-kau Padumāwatī-sukha-janaka Rawi/
> Jayadēwa kawi nṛpa-cakkawaī, khaṇḍa-maṇḍalēśwara āni kawi//"

> '*The poet Jayadeva is the emperor among poets, while other poets are like rulers of small states* : (*his*) Gīta-govinda *has become shining exceedingly in the three worlds. It is the repository of Erotics, of Poetry, of the Nine Sentiments, and of the Pleasant Art of Love. For him who studies* (*signs*) *his eight-versed songs, his wisdom is increased. The Lover of Rādhā is pleased while hearing them, and certainly comes there* (*where these songs are sung*). *Jayadeva is the Sun bringing happiness to the Lotus Lady, his wife Padmāvati ! he is also the Sun for the mass of lotuses who are the Saints. The poet Jayadeva is the emperor among poets, while other poets are rulers of small states.*

## XII. THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA*—ITS 8 CANTOS AND 24 SONGS, AND 386 VERSES: THE NAME OF THE POEM

THE *Gīta-govinda* is a short Sanskrit poem which is of a unique character, and stands apart from any other composition of the same type. But it may conveniently be described as a *khaṇḍa-kāvya* or a smaller poem of a descriptive-narrative character, and from its subject-matter, though not in its construction, it can be said to fall in the same category of Sanskrit poems as the *Ṛtu-saṃhāra* and *Mēgha-dūta* of Kālidāsa, and anthologies of love-poems or verse like those of *Ghaṭa-karpara*, *Amaru-śataka*, *Sṛṅgāra-śataka* of Bhartṛhari, the *Caura-pañcāśikā* of Bilhaṇa, and a number of other works of a similar nature. Its special character consists in its being a combination of an account of love situations and erotic poems describing intimate scenes of love with an undercurrent of conversational or dramatic elements. The poem also is a combination of two styles—the descriptive portions are in ordinary classical Sanskrit verse and the songs are reminiscent of Apabhraṃśa versification, with rime as a noteworthy characteristic.

The poem consists in all of 386 verses both in the descriptive portions and in the 24 songs which are scattered throughout the twelve *sargas* or cantos in which the poem is divided. These cantos have all of them just one theme. After a preliminary introduction in the first canto, which is benedictory, with two invocations to Vishnu in his ten incarnations, the poem begins.

In the first *sarga*, the dramatic element is very slight—it is mostly lyrical. It is just an eposode in the love-story of Radha and Krishna in Vṛndāvana. Krishna, who is the beloved of Gopis, or the cow-herd women in Vṛndāvana, has been occupied in love-sport with a number of these Gopis. Krishna was like a veritable incarnation of the erotic sentiment in the vernal season. There are some gorgeous descriptions of Nature in Spring in this canto, which are fully representative of the charm of Jayadeva's mellifluous verse. The first *sarga* which has the title *Sāmōdā-Dāmōdara* i.e. "*Dāmodara or Krishna who is full of delight*", finishes with this, and then comes the second *sarga* or canto named as *Aklēśa-Kēśava* i.e. "*Kēśava or Kṛishṇa without any sorrow or pain*". In this canto, there are two songs, and the narrative states that Radha felt jealous as well as sad at Krishna's sport with the other Gopi girls, and made her complaints to an intimate friend of hers. In that complaint, in some beautiful songs Radha has been recapitulating Krishna's love-sport not only with her rivals, these other Gopi girls, but she also remembers with longing her own happy moments with Krishna. The third sarga named *Mugdha-Madhusūdhana*, i.e. "*the enamoured Kṛishṇa*," depicts how Krishna felt repentant at his neglect of Radha, and he now begins to lament within himself that Radha has become angry with him quite justifiably. Krishna was asking, though within his own mind, her forgiveness, and through some beautiful lyrics his feelings have been expressed, combined with descriptions of both himself and Radha in their intimate love-play.

In the 4th canto, known as the *Snigdha-Madhusūdhana* or "*Kṛishṇa who was feeling happy and at peace*", we have an account of a girl-friend of Radha coming to Krishna and telling him that Radha herself was feeling very much her separation from Krishna, and she was suffering from her *viraha*, her unhappiness at separation, and in that fit of unhappiness she was pining for his company and feeling abjectly miserable. Her condition has been described in two of the most beautiful songs which embellish this canto.

The 5th canto, known as *Sākāṅkṣa-Puṇḍarīkākṣa* i.e. "*Lotus-eyed Kṛishṇa who was full of desire*", expresses Krishna's reaction to this message of love from Radha. He asked Radha's handmaid to return to her and to bring her to the bower where he was waiting for her. In this *sarga* there are two exquisite lyrics which are among the most musical compositions in Sanskrit, describing Krishna's condition through not having Radha by him in the love-tryst. Radha's friend went back and used her persuasive powers, also in beautiful verse, to make Radha come back to Krishna.

The sixth *sarga* entitled *Dhṛṣṭa-Vaikuṇṭha* which means "*Kṛishṇa who is both aggressive or unrepentant as well as shameless*" is a short one of 12 verses only, with just one beautiful lyric. Here we find that Radha has become so very much weakened through her separation from Krishna that she cannot come to meet Krishna, and her massenger comes to Krishna and describes in a song about her condition that Radha is full of Krishna and is complaining that she cannot come, and she is eagerly waiting for Krishna's arrival.

The seventh canto is a fairly long one—the second longest in the poem, and it has got four songs in it. It is entitled *Nāgara-Nārāyaṇa* i.e. "*Nārāyaṇa or Kṛishṇa as the gallant or lover of Rādhā*". It describes how Krishna was not able to come to meet Radha, although he was expected to arrive with the rising of the moon, while she was waiting and pining for him in the deep woods. The first song in this canto is her lament, and Radha was apprehensive that Krishna was with some other Gopi. Her apprehension grew stronger when she saw her messenger from Krishna returning alone. In two other songs which follow, and they are most beautiful in their verbal music, Radha gives a vivid description of Krishna's sport and love-play with one or the other of the Gopis who are her rivals. Radha was also addressing the pleasant breeze of the south, the God of Love and the river Yumunā, for their very presence was adding to her pangs of separation.

In canto eight which is also a short one with only one lyric, and which is entitled *Vilakṣa-Lakṣmīpati* or "*Kṛishṇa or Nārāyaṇa as the Lord of Lakṣmī, who is surprised or bewildered*", narrates a further incident. It was now dawn, and Radha had spent a sleepless night of sorrow at Krishna's absence, and was new very eager to meet him. But when Krishna came and placed himself at her feet, Radha's anger flared up, and she began to rebuke him and asked him to go back to the other women with whom he was spending his time.

*Mugdha-Mukunda* or "*Mukunda or Kṛishṇa who was enchanted*" is the title of the ninth canto. It is also of eleven verses with one single poem. Radha was thinking of Krishna when he had left her, and her mood was now softening, and her friend was asking her to be kind to Krishna for he was once again coming to the tryst with her.

The tenth canto entitled *Mugdha-Mādhava*, is also a short one, and is only one song, and this song is quite a famous one. The narrative portion states that it was becoming evening, and Radha's anger was to some extent appeased, and when Krishna came again Radha was a little bashful and looking at her friends, and then Krishna tried to remove her sulks and asked her repeatedly to be kind to him, praising her and reminding her of the joys they had together before. In one passage in the song in this canto, he was appealing to her to be kind to him and let him paint her lovely feet with lac-dye—her feet, the touch of which will remove the poison of passion that was tormenting him and which also would be an adornment for his own head ("smara-garala-khaṇḍanam, mama śirasi maṇḍanam dēhi pada-pallavam udāram//")

There is a story, which belongs to the Golden Legend of Vaishnava devotion, which says that when he was writing this song Jayadeva was hesitating for quite a long time, pondering whether it would be proper for him to make Krishna, who was the Supreme Divinity Vishṇu incarnate and was the Lord of the Universe, speak to Radha in this strain and request her to place her feet on his head. He was thinking that this would be the height of blasphemy—it would be degrading the personality of Vishṇu, and he took a long time cogitating over this. But he could not decide whether it would be right to put that idea in his poem. It was getting late, and his wife Padmāvatī came and asked him to go out and take his bath and have his midday meal, and take a little rest, and then think over it again. As it was delaying also Padmāvatī having her meal with him, Jayadeva, as a dutiful and loving and considerate husband, went out to take his bath in the Ganges flowing near by and then come back for lunch. In the meanwhile, Padmāvatī found after some time that Jayadeva was back from his bath, rather too soon, but she served him his meal, and then Jayadeva as usual after finishing his lunch went into his room for his siesta, and closed the door. Padmāvatī, like a dutiful Hindu wife, then sat down to take her own meal. She was using the plates with the leavings from her husband's lunch, and when she was eating, it seemed that Jayadeva was again coming back from his bath. She was surprised at what she thought the second advent of her husband. But this was the real Jayadeva, he was also wondering how his wife could have started her lunch before he had taken his. Then the husband and wife were both bewildered. They went inside the room into which as Padmāvatī protested that Jayadeva had retired after taking his food, returning rather quickly from his bath, and there they found no one. Then Jayadeva looked at his manuscript where he had left his song unfinished, and there he found that somebody had written the line as it occurs in this song no. 17 in this canto of the *Gīta-govinda*. Both husband and wife were dumb-founded. They were great devotees of Krishṇa, and they thought it a miracle—it was Krishna himself who had visited them in the guise of Jayadeva, and Krishna himself in his great love for Radha would not think it at all derogatory if he asked Radha in that great love to place her lotus-like foot on his head. In this way, there was the deep expression of an aspect of the divine love which Krishna wanted to teach his beloved disciples. Jayadeva and Padmāvatī were in ecstacy that Krishna himself had come in this way, and they were beside themselves with joy. Jayadeva began to eat from his wife's plate, as the food there was in part the leavings of Krishna himself, and so it had become consecrated food partaken of by God. Devotees of Radha and Krishna who look upon the *Gīta-govinda* as a God-inspired religious poem, take joy in this story, which of course has its own romantic beauty of faith.

The next canto named *Sānanda-Gōvinda* i.e. "*Gōvinda or Kṛishṇa who is full of joy*", has 34 verses and three lyrics. Now Krishna was able to placate Radha with her beautiful eyes like those of the fawn. The first song in this canto is by one of the friends of Radha who asks her to yield to Krishna and bring happiness to him. Another of her companions sang the second song to Radha in the same tone as the first one. Radha and Krishna then came to the intimacy of their own bower, and there are beautiful poetic descriptions of the two young lovers at their meeting. Radha's friends left them alone in the privacy of their bower which became their bridal chamber—they were smiling in a knowing way at this happy end. All that is described in beautiful verse in Sanskrit.

The last canto with 29 verses has two songs, and the finale is there described in verses which are beautiful but full of sensuousness and frank abandon to the sport of love. Krishna sings the first of the two songs, and then some intimate scenes of love-sport are described. Here we have a real climax of erotic description, but the Vaishnava devotees,—those whose minds are attuned to this kind of poetry, consider it to be of a deep spiritual import, and there is nothing which offends their taste, although this constant repetition of sensuous, even sensual and carnal love-making would jar against good taste, to say the least. In this way the *Gīta-govinda* as a poem is terminated.

The title of this canto is *Suprīta-Pītāmbara* i.e. "*Pītāmbara or Kṛishṇa in his yellow garments who is wholly pleased*".

Prof. Sukumar Sen has suggested—and I think this suggestion is quite acceptable—that the Sanskrit titles of these 12 *sargas*, each title consisting of a descriptive epithet of Krishna the hero, give the clue to the origin and meaning of the name *Gīta-govinda* for this work. The title also embodies a descriptive epithet of Krishna : *Gīta-govinda* means "*Govinda or Krishna who has been sung (gīta) in this poem*" or "*Songs on the Art of Love of Gōvinda or Kṛishṇa*".

## XIII. "PROFANE LOVE" AND "SACRED LOVE" IN THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA*

THE *Gīta-govinda* in the supreme beauty of its verbal melody is simply untranslatable in any other language not attuned to the spirit of the mellifluousness of Sanskrit. The lines, particularly of the songs, must be heared as chanted or sung, to be appreciated. This exclusive reliance on the beauty of form or outward expression in a piece of literary creation is certainly a drawback or handicap ; since, perhaps much more than the form, the subject-matter or the content is important. And herein, in the appreciation of the *Gīta-govinda*, the approach of the reader, his subjective attitude, is the determining factor.

Love, that is *Śṛṅgāra* or Physical Love and Sexual Union and Love-Play, or frank "Profane Love", is the main theme of the *Gīta-govinda*. There is a background of Nature—Nature in Spring-time mainly, with trees and creepers and flowers, with verdant hills and flowing streams, and with the singing of birds and buzzing of bees. But this Nature as depicted in the *Gīta-govinda* is described in a conventional or stereotyped manner only—it lacks the more beautiful and profounder note of appreciation of Nature from all her aspects, such as we find, for example, in Kālidāsa's *Mēgha-dūta*. Love in the *Gīta-govinda* describes only *Kāma* or Physical Love and *Śṛṅgāra* or Sexual Union—it is on the face of it mundane and material. The finer, deeper and more spiritual expression of Love as *Prēman* or *Love which transcends physical union*, as *Prīti* or *Attraction of Hearts*—in fact, Love in its higher aspect, is seldom described in the *Gīta-govinda*. Except in some rare passages, as e.g. in Song 8, Canto IV (sā virahē tava dīnā...... bhāvanayā tvayi līnā), in Song 9, Canto IV, in Song 12, Canto VI (muhur avalōkita-maṇḍana-līlā, Madhu-ripur aham iti bhāvana-śīlā) or in Song 19, in Canto X (tvam asi mama bhūṣaṇam, tvam asi mama jīvanam......dēhi pada-pallavam udāram). But the love and love-situations as described in the

*Gīta-govinda* being always of the same physical sort, becomes monotonous and cloying, and even jars on our sense of the poetic and the beautiful. One great literary critic of Bengal, Balendranath Tagore (a nephew of Rabindranath Tagore, in his article on Jayadeva, first published in the *Sādhanā Magazine for Phālguna, 1300 Bengali era=1894*), made a brilliantly critical study of Jayadeva, penetrating and sympathetic. He said that while the frank, elemental eroticism of the Vedic Urvaśī and Purūravās saga has a light and a glory of its own in the purity of its naked beauty, which lifts our mind from all sense of grossness and impurity, the spirit of the *Gīta-govinda* is quite different. Balendranath Tagore has clinched the matter with this terse observation : "it may be that there are songs in the *Gīta-govinda*, but we have doubts about Gōvinda (i.e. Vishṇu, or God) being there".

The most esteemed writers and critics of Bengal in the 19th–20th centuries have expressed their appreciation of the *Gīta-govinda*, but they have been all reasonable, and their praise has been within limits : unless they were believing or devout Vaishnavas of the medieval school. Pramatha Chaudhuri's (for which see below) with Balendranath Tagore's criticism is generally accepted by the large mass of modern cultured readers who are not orthodox Vaishnavas, and this is more or less in line with the views of Bengali students of the poem. In his *Saṃskṛta-bhāṣā Ō Saṃskṛta-Sāhitya-śāstra-Viṣayaka Prastāva* ('an Essay on the subject of the Sanskrit Language and Sanskrit Literature'), by Iśwar Chandra Vidyāsāgar (3rd edition, Calcutta 1863—a pioneer work on the subject in Bengali), Vidyāsāgar, quite a discrimnating student of Sanskrit literature, has made the following observations : "The composition of this great poem is sweet, soft, and charming, and such compositions are not found in large quantities in Sanskrit. His descriptions equally captivate the heart. But if Jayadeva's poetic powers were as great as the uncommon skill he has shown in the composition of his verses, then his *Gīta-govinda* could have been regarded as a unique and a remarkably great poem. Jayadeva is much inferior to the great poets likes Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and other masters....... It seems, however, that Jayadeva is outstanding, and greater that all the Sanskrit poets who flourished in Bengal."

Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the greatest Bengali writer of the 19th century prior to Rabindranath Tagore, has consecrated an essay of his on a comparative study of Jayadeva and Vidyāpati, as poets of love. Here Jayadeva comes off as second best, and some observations of a fundamental character have been made by Bankim Chandra. Thus: "In poets like Jayadeva, we find prominence of the outer world; in Vidyāpati and those like him, we are in the realm of the inner spirit. Both Jayadeva and Vidyāpati sing about the loves of Krishna and Radha. But the song of the love that Jayadeva sings follows our outward life. But the poems of Vidyāpati, and specially of Chaṇḍīdāsa, transcend the inner spirit......our crude outward connexion with the senses, with the physical body, when brought in excess, makes poetry rather sensual. Vidyāpati and the rest only look into the heart of man, detaching itself from the sensual: as a result, the poetry of Vidyāpati and his peers have no connexion with the senses—and it is sublimated to something which is above sensual enjoyment, to something pure and elevated......" In beautiful and convincing language, Bankim Chandra has pursued this contrast, and has given Jayadeva the meed of praise, which within the limits of a poetry that is sensuous, he fully deserves. Besides, as early as 1870, in an English article entitled *A Popular Literature for Bengal*, Bankim Chandra has made the following observations: "From the beginning to the end, it [the *Gīta-govinda*] does not contain a single expression of manly feeling—of womanly feeling there is a great deal—or a single elevated sentiment. The poet has not a single new truth to teach. Generally speaking, it is the poets (religious or profane), who teach us the great moral truths, which render man's life a blessing to his kind; but Jayadeva is a poet of another stamp.

I do not deny his high poetical merits in a certain sense, exquisite imagery, tender feeling and unrivalled power of expression, but that does not make him less the poet of an effeminate and sensual race [Bankim Chandra does not spare his own Bengali people, and he is a little unjust, and too severe: S. K. Chatterji]. Soft and mellifluous, feelingly tender and as often grossly sensual, his exquisitely sounding but not unfrequently meaningless verse echoed the common sentiments of an inactive and effeminate race." (*Bankim-Rachanāvalī*, Volume 3—Collection of English works—edited by Jogeshchandra Bagal, published 1969, Sahitya Samsad, Calcutta : page 98)

Another important paper in Bengali on Jayadeva which we cannot omit is that by Pramatha Chaudhuri (1868–1946), the critic, essayist and novelist. His detailed analytical study of Jayadeva's poetry was first published in Bengali Year 1297= 1890 A.D. This gives a most penetrating study of Jayadeva's treatment of Nature and of Love, and submits them to a searching enquiry from both the aspects of the poetic art and of aesthetics. One would say that this paper seeks to free Jayadeva from the false values which have been attached to him by his orthodox admirers. Yet Pramatha Chaudhuri acknowledges the great popularity of Jayadeva, and he has attempted to find out the historic reason for it—the unquestioned sweetness of his diction, with a general ignorance of Sanskrit on the part of his lay readers and admirers, combined with the atmosphere of sensuous beauty and of the divine love, a love that we are taught to regard as sacrosanct, sacred and spiritual.

Rabindranath Tagore, as he has himself told us in his Autobiography (*Jīvana-smṛiti*), that when a boy of 10 or 12, he fell under spell of the music and beauty of Jayadeva's verse and his diction, although he could not at that age understand what this poetry was about. Nor in later age he could find anything of outstanding value in Jayadeva. But Jayadeva's verse cadence in his songs had a very profound impact on his poetry as a metrist, and some of Jayadeva's verse-forms he could not help imitating in Bengali. The first verse of the *Gīta-govinda* had a special appeal for him, both in form and content, and he has given striking testimony to his appreciation.

The above gives one point of view. The other is that of the orthodox Vaishṇava devotee, who has a deep faith in Vishṇu (particularly in his incarnation Krishna) as a Divinity of Grace and Love, and who is accustomed to look upon the yearning of the human soul for a vision of and then for final rest with the Godhead, through the figure or allegory of the self-forgetting *abandon* of love of the Gōpīs of Vṛindāvana, with Radha at their head, for Srī Krishna as the handsome young God who is the World's Desire, the *Purushôttama* or the only Supreme Male in the Universe, to whom the love of Humanity as the Bride of God is drawn.

This *Kṛṣṇa-Prēma*, or approach to the Divinity as Krishna by the Way of Love, the all-absorbing self-abnegation of the love of a young woman for a young man to whom she has dedicated herself, heart and soul—with her *tan, man, dhan*, in Modern Indian parlance, her body, her mind, her all. This is one of the most noteworthy expressions of medieval Hindu *Sādhanā* or Path of Realisation of the Godhead through Love, of Womanly or Conjugal Love. A frank acceptance of earthly love between a couple of Young Lovers forms the symbol of this divine love, the path of mystic love which leads to God. As a medieval Vaishṇava verse declares :

"yuvatīnāṃ yathā yūni, yūnāñca yuvatāu yathā,
manō' bhiramatē nityam, manō 'bhiramatāṃ tvayi"

*Just as the mind of young women always finds joy in a young man, and of young men in a young woman, so may my mind find joy in Thee.*

In ancient India, this concept is found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, IV, 3, 21, for the first time (in a passage which is very well-known : "yathā priyayā striyā sampariṣvaktō na bāhyaṃ kiñcana vēda, na antaram, ēva ayam puruṣaḥ prājñēna Ātmanā sampariṣvaktō na bāhyaṃ kiñcana vēda na antaraṃ—tad vā asya ētad āpta-kāmam Ātma-kāmam a-kāmaṃ rūpaṃ śōkântaram : *as a man, who, in the embrace of a beloved wife, knows nothing within or without, so this person, when in the embrace of the intelligent Soul, knows nothing within or without. Verily, that is his (true) form in which his desire is satisfied, in which the Soul is his desire, in which he is without desire and without sorrow.*

Earthly, physical love between man and woman as a symbol of the love that man feels for the Godhead (and as man believes, God also feels for man), is widely prevalent all over the 'world. We find traces of it in Confucianism and in Taoism, in China (e.g. as in the religious-poetical songs known as the *Nine Odes* composed by Chiu Yüan, c. 200 B.C., along the mystic tradition of Taoism). We find it among the Hebrews, as in Solomon's *Song of Songs* (*Shi'r Shi'irim*). In later Christian mysticism, we have (despite the prosaic attempts of the medieval divines to explain the Herbew *Song of Songs* in a different way) the same concept of the human soul as the bride or sweetheart of Christ or God looked upon as the Great Lover. And Islamic mysticism, *Taṣawwuf* or Sufiism, is also replete with this concept in which the Human Soul is looked upon as the Active Lover, the Male, *'Āshiq*, and the Divinity is either the Great Sweetheart, the Bride of the *'Āshiq*, as the *Ma'shūqah*, or the Divinity is also conceived as a young Boy, an Ephebe, who is the male sweetheart of the *'Āshiq*.

From this way of looking at the relationship between the human soul and the Divinity, one has to understand and accept the Vaishṇava interpretation of physical, or carnal love as a symbol of Divine Love. There is of course quite a 'philosophy' underlying this interpretation, in Sanskrit as well as in Modern Indian Languages. We have in this way a spiritual interpretation of the Love as depicted in the *Gīta-govinda* in one of the recent translations of the poem in English.

## XIV. JAYADEVA—TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS APPROACH AND MODERN FACTUAL APPROACH

THE MOST exhaustive and comprehensive monograph on Jayadeva and his *Gīta-govinda* is written in Bengali by Pandit Hare-krishna Mukhopadhyay (Mukherji), Sāhitya-ratna, Ph. D. who is one of the most erudite scholars and writers of Bengal on Vaishṇava literature and philosophy (his *Kavi Jayadēva Ō Śrī Gīta-govinda*, Calcutta, 4th edition, Agrahayana 1372 Bengali Year=1965 A.D., published by the author from the "Sāradā-Kuṭir", Village and P.O. Kuṛmiṭhā, District Birbhum: pp. 272+pp. 160=Pages 432). In this learned work there is an Introduction of 272 pages discussing all aspects of both Jayadeva and his work, including a study of the Vaishṇava Philosophy of Love, and we get here whatever Vaishṇava orthodoxy has thought over the matter. The second part, pp. 1-160, gives a well-edited text of the whole poem, with the Sanskrit commentary of Pūjārī Goswāmī named the *Bāla-bōdhinī*. Pūjārī Goswāmī was the sobriquet of Caitanya-dāsa, a Bengali Vaishṇava scholar and devotee, living in Vṛindāvana during the latter half of the 16th century. He was thus a personality of the great century, the 16th, when the Gauḍīya or Bengal Vaishṇava School of Literature and Philosophy was flourishing at its best.

"Profane Love" has been sublimated into "Divine Love" in the *Gīta-govinda*: that is the general view of all students of the poem, whether in India or in the West. Jayadeva has been given fullest recognition as a great poet of Sanskrit by all scholars. In a recent book published on Sanskrit Grammar, University of Alabama, U.S.A., 1972 (in its English translation) by Prof. Manfred Mayrhofer of Vienna (the author of the most recent *Etymological Dictionary of Sanskrit*), at the end three short specimens of Sanskrit literature have been given, of which the first is from the *Rigveda*, the second is from the Story of Nala and Damayanti in the *Mahābhāratu*, and the third consists of a few lines from a song from the *Gīta-govinda*. Most European scholars of Sanskrit have spoken in highest terms about the *Gīta-govinda*, some even having nothing but unmixed praise for it, because of its verbal music and its exaltation of woman's beauty and love, and the human soul's yearning for God, with descriptions of Nature.

Apart from Manmohan Chakravarti's paper on Jayadeva mentioned earlier, a very detailed account of Jayadeva, with full bibliographical and other notes, will be found in M. Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. III, Part I (the original German of the first volume of this great work appeared in 1907 : the English translations of the complete first and second volumes, which were by a German lady Mrs. S. Ketkar, were published by the University of Calcutta, Vol. I, 1927—Introduction, Veda, National Epics, Puranas and Tantras ; and Vol. II, 1933—Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature ; Vol. III, Part I—Classical Sanskrit Literature—original German edition, published in 1922, English Translation by Dr. Subhadra Jha, published 1963 by Motilal Banarsidas from Delhi, Varanasi and Patna : the relevant portion on Jayadeva appears at pp. 142-148 in Subhadra Jha's English translation). The bibliographical and other references to Jayadeva in Winternitz's *History* are very valuable. Like most European Sanskritists, Winternitz has fallen under the spell of Jayadeva's verbal music, and he has high praise for it. He has given specimens of Jayadeva's mellifluous verse by quoting extracts from the Songs in Roman transcription, with English translation, finding it suitable to omit some verses. Winternitz's final verdict on the *Gīta-govinda* is as follows : "It is true that the poem has a religious character, and that in the opinion of the poet the whole eroticism of the poem is merely a part of the *bhakti*, the religious devotion to God Krishna. It is true that Jayadeva belongs to the greatest poetical genii of India. [This opinion is not at all subscribed to by the most outstanding literary critics and writers of Bengal and India who are not devotees of Radha and Krishna in the cult of *Bhakti* :

S. K. Chatterji]. It is, however, astonishing that he was able to combine so much passion and sentiment of Love, so much alliteration in Language, that often resounds as pure music in our ears, with such an ornate and yet an artificial a form. It is no wonder that in India the poem enjoys unusual popularity, and has always found admirers even outside India. It is so difficult to bring into translations the brilliance of language that they can reproduce its charms just partially. Even extracts from a defective English translation of the poet by W. Jones engendered feelings of wonder in Goethe."

More or less along the same line of unstinted appreciation are the observations of A. Berriedale Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford University Press, First Edition 1920 (with six off-set reprints, the last being of 1966), pp. 190-198. Keith declares the *Gīta-govinda* to be a "masterpiece", and he says that the "last great name in Sanskrit poetry" is that of Jayadeva. He gives an analysis and an enthusiastic appreciation of the poem, and gives quotations in the Roman script with English translation from three of the songs in the *Gīta-govinda*.

The most reasonable study of Jayadeva and the *Gīta-govinda* in English, from the modern point of view, as a work of Sanskrit literature, is by the late Professor Sushil Kumar De, in his *History of Sanskrit Literature : Prose, Poetry, Drama ; published by the University of Calcutta, 1947*, pp. 388-398. Here we have quite a sensible approach to the whole question, factual yet fully appreciative, with reference to previous work and all ancillary literature, and mention of all the important translations into English. The appraisement is just and appreciative, and not over-enthusiastic.

Of the English translations of the *Gīta-govinda*, we have to mention first the earliest translation, that by Sir William Jones (in the *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. III, 1786), and then that by Sir Edwin Arnold (*The Indian Song of Songs*, 1861, with several editions). These two renderings are not faithful ones. Two recent translations into English are now available—one by the

Ceylon Artist and Writer George Keyt (*Sri Jayadeva's Gitagovinda—the Loves of Krishna and Radha*, with illustrations by the Author : Indian Edition, *Kutub*, Bombay 1947). This is fairly literal, and quite satisfactory, The other version is by Monika Varma, Calcutta, 1968, from P. Lal's *Writers' Workshop*. This is a translation with Introductions and Notes, but it is a little expanded. F. Rueckert's German translation has been universally most highly praised (first published in 1829, then in 1837).

## XV. THE *GITA-GOVINDA* AND MEDIEVAL INDIAN PAINTING

THE INFLUENCE of the *Gita-govinda* on Medieval Indian Painting, in its different schools both in the North and the South of India has been considerable. The erotic sculptures of contemporary North Indian Art, as in Pala and Sena figures of Eastern India, in Bhuvaneswara, Puri and Konarak figures, and the sculptures of Khajuraho, as well as the later Rashtrakuta and Chalukya art of the Deccan, form the best plastic representations or illustrations of the *Gīta-govinda* scenes and situations. Themes and situations from the poem have inspired some of the most beautiful pictures in the various schools of Gujarat and Rajasthan, of North India (Vrindavana and Banaras), and of the Himalayan regions—Kangra, Chamba, Mandi, Basohli and other areas, as well as Nepal. We have also to note the Orissa, Bengal and Assam Schools of painting and those of Andhradesa, of Karnataka, of Kerala, and of Tamil-Nad. The *Lalit Kala Akademi* (a sister institution to the *Sahitya Akademi*) has already published fine monographs with coloured illustrations of some of the *Gīta-govinda* and other Krishna-Radha paintings. The study of the influence of the *Gīta-govinda* on Indian Art certainly will cover one of the most prolific periods of Art in India, from the 14th century A.D. onwards. M. S. Randhawa has done notable work on this subject (particularly Rajput and Himalayan Art), apart from the pioneer studies of Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy.

See also Section XVII at the end, on Hindu Iconography and the Radha-Krishna cult.

## XVI. TWO SONGS FROM THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA*, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION

WE ARE charmed by the music of Jayadeva's verse, particularly of the 24 songs, and one feels tempted to try even the impossible—to make the reader have a taste of the quality of his verse. But, for the ordinary reader who has not immersed his mind in the atmosphere of orthodox Vaishnava ideas about the spiritual or divine character of these poems, he may not feel very happy with what may be described as frank and free, and full and detailed rendering, in terms of poetry, the erotic sculptures, crude and vigorous, but beautiful withal, of the Khajuraho temples, and of the sculptures in Orissan temples like those of Puri and Konarak. The translations will ordinarily fail to create a universal enthusiasm, as tastes are different in this matter.

I have refrained from attempting an English version of some of the most beautiful poems, with longer metres in the Bhāshā style, particularly as the subject matter will be a little *risqué*. I have given just two of the shorter songs, which I feel will please all types of readers. These two songs from the *Gīta-govinda* are given below in Roman transcription and with English translation.

(I) Song 2, from Canto I. The Second Hymn to Vishnu in his various Incarnations.

"śrita-kamalā-kuca-maṇḍala/ dhṛta-kuṇḍala/
kalita-lalita-vanamāla//1//
jaya jaya Dēva Harē (Refrain)"
*Thou dost rest upon the round breasts of Kamalā*
(*Thy Consort Lakṣhmī*) :
*Thou wearest ear-rings in Thy ears,*
*Thou wearest beautiful garlands of wild flowers* :
*Victory, victory to Thee, Hari our Lord God* (Refrain).

**"dina-maṇi-maṇḍana/ bhava-khaṇḍana/**
**muni-jana-mānasa-haṃsa//2//"**
*Thou art the Adornment of the orb of the Sun, the day's jewel,*
*Thou destroyest rebirth* :
*Thou art the Swan sporting in the lake of mind of the sages* :
**"Kāliya-viṣadhara-gañjana/ jana-rañjana/**
**Yadu-kula-nalina-dinēśa//3//"**
*Thou didst quell the Poisonous Serpent Kāliya,*
*Thou makest people happy* :
*Thou art a veritable Sun, opening up the Lotus of the Yadu Clan* :
**"Madhu-Mura-Naraka-vināśana/ Garūḍāsana/**
**Sura-kula-kēli-nidāna//4//"**
*Thou didst destroy the demons Madhu, Mura and Naraka*:
*Thou ridest on Garuḍa, the divine Eagle* :
*Thou art the reason why all the Gods find their joyous sport* :
**"amala-kamala-dala-locane/ bhava-mōcana/**
**tribhuvana-bhavana-nidhāna//5//"**
*Thine eyes are like spotless petals of the lotus,*
*Thou freest souls from Being* ;
*Thou art the Source of the Three Worlds* :
**"Janaka-sutā-kṛta-bhūṣaṇa/ jita-Dūṣaṇa/**
**samara-śamita-Daśa-kanṭha//6//"**
*Janaka's daughter's Adornment art Thou (as her husband)* :
*Thou didst conquer the demon Dūshaṇa* :
*In battle Thou didst kill the Ten-headed Rāvaṇa* :
**"Abhinava-jaladhara-sundara/ dhṛta-Mandara/**
**Śrī-mukha-candra-cakōra//7//"**
*O, Thou art soothing and handsome like a fresh Cloud,*
*Thou didst seize the Mandara Hill,*
*Thou art the Cakora bird, forever gazing on the face of Śrī, Thy Spouse.*

"tava caraṇē praṇatā vayam/ iti bhāvaya/
kuru kuśalam praṇatēṣu//8//"
*We are always prostrate at Thy feet,—so Thou must think ;*
*Vouchsafe Thy grace unto us, who lie at Thy feet :*
"Śrī-Jaya-dēva-kavēr idaṃ/ kurutē mudam/
maṅgalam ujjvala-gīti//9//"
*May this poem on the loves of Kṛṣṇa, with its songs on the Bright Sentiment of Love,*
*bring joy to all—this poem by Poet Jayadeva.*

(2) Song No. 10, Canto V : Krishna's condition described to Radha.

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Song No. 1, in Canto I, is also a Hymn in praise of the Ten Incarnations of Vishṇu, and it mentions all the Ten Incarnations. The present song, Song No. 2, does not give all the Incarnations, it has only a random enumeration. One thing may be observed in this connexion, which has been specially brought to our notice by Professor Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, ex-President of India, and a great interpreter of Hindu religion and culture. Buddha in orthodox Brahmanical estimation has been honoured as an Incarnation of Vishṇu. But Brahmanical orthodoxy either did not, or could not understand the greatness of Buddha's personality—it only could think of Buddha as a *Promulgator of Error* who did not accept Vedic cults and sacrifices, and Buddha's advent as an Incarnation of Vishṇu was only to lead the ignorant and foolish people to ideologies which were against Vedism with its fire-ritual and its animal sacrifices, so that on such oppositionists the wrath of God as Supporter of the Vedic religion might fall. But at two places in the *Gīta-govinda*, both of them in Canto I, Jayadeva has only sought to underline the positive aspect of Buddha's character and his doctrine of Non-injury. Buddha was actuated by his love of all creatures, he was not just an anti-Vedic thinker. His spirit of *ahimsa* made him dislike the cruelty involved in Vedic animal sacrifices, and he condemned only those parts of the Vedas which supported *Paśv-ālambhana*, or the slaughter of animals. This aspect was also pointed out by one at least of the old commentators of the *Gīta-govinda*, as Prof. Radhakrishnan has brought to our notice. This gives a new and quite a pleasant aspect of Jayadeva's mind in his understanding of true greatness (even in this idyll of love) of Buddha's personality as the very abode of loving kindness for all life.

"vahati Malaya-samīrē Madanam upanidhāya,
sphuṭati kusuma-nikarē virahi-hṛdaya-dalanāya//1//
sakhi, sidati tava virahē Vana-mālī (Refrain)"
*O Friend, yearning for you Kṛṣṇa with his garland of wild flowers droops and faints* (Refrain) :
*While the soft South Breeze belows, bringing the God of Love along,*
*And while the flowers in their rows bloom, they crush the hearts of those who long for union.*

"dahati śiśira-mayūkhē maraṇam anukarōti :
patati Madana-viśikhē vilapati vikalatarō'ti//2//"
*Even the cold-rayed Moon seems to burn him, and he looks as he is dead :*
*He wails in greater dejection when flowers fall, as if these were the flowery arrows of the God of Love.*

"dhvanati madhupa-samūhē śravaṇam api dadhāti :
manasi valita-virahē niśi niśi rujam upayāti//3//"
*Hearing the humming of the swarms of bees, he covers up his ears :*
*He feels in his mind pangs of separation, and night after night he is getting tormented through mental suffering.*

"vasati vipina-vitānē, tyajati lalita-dhāma/
luṭhati dharaṇī-śayanē, bahu vilapati tava nāma//4//"
*He has left his lovely abode, and is now wondering among the wooded bowers ;*
*he is rolling on the ground, as if it were his bed, and he only goes on repeating your name.*

"bhaṇati kavi-Jayadēva viraha-vilasitēna/
manasi rabhasa-vibhavē Harir udayutu sukṛtēṇa//5//"
*With this song, beautiful with its account of the lovers' separation,*
*When it is sung by Poet Jayadeva, may Hari* (*Kṛṣṇa*)
*rise in the heart of him who is full of good deeds, with all the glory of the divine love.*

## XVII. RADHA AND KRISHNA WORSHIP, AND HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

THE PICTURE of Krishna and Radha reproduced as the frontispiece to this Monograph on Jayadeva is the oldest plastic representation of the Divine Lovers so far discovered. It is from the ruins of the *stūpa* and temple at Pāhāḍpur in Rajshahi District in North-Central Bengal, and belongs to the 6th-7th century A.D. The halos round the heads of the two figures indicate that they are divine beings. This sculpture has been found with a few other similar bas-reliefs dealing with Krishna theme. Krishna has been represented as a slender handsome Ephebe.

About four to five hundred years earlier than Jayadeva, who wrote the first great poem on the loves of Radha and Krishna, this piece of sculpture was executed in Bengal, and it is one of the most beautiful in Indian Art.

Next in age are the heroic figures of Krishna and Radha (in Old Tamil *Kaṇṇan* and *Nappinney*) in that great bas-relief depicting the holding of the Govardhana Hill by Krishna—a magnificant piece of sculpture, with the figure of Radha to his left, Radha being supported by another Gopī. (This is one of the rock reliefs at Mahabalipuram in Tamil Nadu, 7th-8th century A.D.)

There are other scenes depicting the Krishna legend in some 5th-6th century bas-reliefs of the Gupta period from North India, but we find Radha along with Krishna only much later. The cult of Radha as the favourite of Krishna appears to have become established rather late, during the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D., although the begennings of this cult go back to some centuries earlier. In this connexion, the following observations from Rakhal Das Banerji, the eminent archæologist and historian, will be *a-propos*, forming also a little chronological commentary on the Radha-

Krishna legend in both art and literature (from *Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture* by R. D. Banerji, M.A., with 96 plates, in "Archæological Survey of India New Imperial Series", Vol. XLVII, Government of India, Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1933, p. 127):

> "While thousands of images of different varieties of the four-armed Vishnu, belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, have been discovered in different parts of the province of Bengal and Bihar, only a single specimen of the combined image of Krishna and Radha can safely be assigned to the Eastern School during its long existence. [The Pāhāḍpur Figure as reproduced in this book was still undiscovered in 1933—S. K. Chatterji]. The locality of this specimen is unknown, but it belongs to the [A. M.] Broadley Collection of Bihar and is a specimen of the eleventh century A.D. (*Supplimentary Catalague*, p. 96, no. 3833). The Krishna cult was therefore followed by a very minor sect during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Not only do we find a very great scarcity of combined images of Krishna and Radha in the Eastern School, but no image of Krishna by himself earlier than the 13th century has been discovered anywhere in Bengal or Bihar. The popularity of the Radha-Krishna cult in the North-Eastern provinces of India appears to date from the advent of the great reformer Chaitanya. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, the majority of Brahmanical images in Bengal and Bihar, both in metal and stone, are either *liṅgas* and images of Durgā or Kālī, or representations of Krishna or Radha-Krishna. In this period there is a total dearth of images of Vishnu either in stone or metal. There is, thus, a hiatus in the history of the Vaishnava sect in North-Eastern India from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, to fill up which iconography can supply no materials."

## XVIII. METRE AND MUSIC IN THE SONGS OF THE 'GĪTA-GOVINDA'

A VERY GOOD analysis by Dr. Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya of the Metres as employed by Jayadeva in the *Gīta-govinda*, in both the narrative elements and the songs, will be found in Dr. Harekrishna Mukherji's Bengali work on Jayadeva as referred to above (p. 54). The narrative portions are in classical Sanskrit metres, but it is clear, as Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya has shown, there are influences from Apabhraṃśa metre on these Sanskrit classical metres.

The *Padas* or Songs are in the Apabhraṃśa (and Avahaṭṭha) as well as Early Bhāshā (New Indo-Aryan) moric metres (*mātrā-vṛitta*), and their full analysis and classification as in the number of *morae* and feet (*mātrā, caraṇa*) will be found in Dr. Harekrishna Mukherj's book. It is not necessary to enter into this rather technical matter in this monograph.

Jayadeva's *Padas* were sung from the very beginning, by his musician friends like Parāsara, as he himself has told us in his poem. From the *Seka-śubhodayā* (p. 8, ante) we know that both Jayadeva and his wife Padmāvatī were accomplished musicians. Jayadeva's songs were evidently sung in the Late Medieval Hindu System of Music as current in Aryan-speaking India a thousand or eight hundred years ago, which we find in a more developed form in the *Dhrubva-pada* or *Dhrūpad* tradition in the Hindusthani or North Indian Music of the time of Emperor Akbar (16th century) as raised to its perfection level by Tāna-sena, and in the *Padam* or *Kīrttanam* tradition in Karnatak or South Indian Music, the greatest exponents of which were Purandara-dāsa of Karnatak in the 17th century and Tyāga-rāja of Andhra, settled in Tamil-nad, who flourished in the 19th century. The Indian system of classifying melodies into the various *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* (modes) with the *Tālas* (or time-beats) was already well-established. There were the old, i.e. early medieval *Rāgas* and

*Tālas* with their well-known names which we find given above each *Pada* by Jayadeva in the *Gīta-govinda*. These are the *Classical Rāgas* of Hindusthani Music, which we find not only in Jayadeva but also in the oldest Sanskrit treatises on Music (post-11th century A. D.) and in great books like the Sikh *Guru Granth* (first compilation, 1605). Jayadeva's work gives, above the *Padas*, *Rāgas* like the following: *Mālava, Gūrjarī, Vasanta, Rāma-kirī, Karṇāṭa, Deśāga, Deśa-varāḍī, Goṇḍa-kirī, Bhairavī, Varāḍī, Vibhāṣa*; and *Tālas like Rūpaka, Niḥsāra, Yati, Eka-tālī* and *Aṣṭa-tālī*. Considering that the *Padas* are only 24 in number, it is only natural that the range of *Rāgas* and *Tālas* in the *Gīta-govinda* is small—as compared with the much wider variety as in that fairly large compilation of devotional hymns and distichs ranging from the 15th to the 18th century as in the Sikh '*Veda*'—the *Ādi-Granth* or the *Guru-Granth*. The tradition of singing *Padas* in classical *Rāgas* continued in Bengal right down to the *Śrī-Krishna-Kīrttana*, the great Middle Bengali poem of Baḍu-Caṇḍīdāsa (14th-15th century ?).

It may be presumed that originally the *Padas* of Jayadeva were sung in these *Rāgas* and *Tālas*. But the old tradition was gradually lost to Bengal after the advent of Caitanya, particularly after the great *Melā* or Gathering of Vaishṇava teachers and devotees and *kīrttana*-singers at Kheturi in Rajshahi district in 1594 A.D., when Bengali Vaishṇava devotional music was organised. Now a new tradition with different styles of singing (e.g. *Manohar-shāhī, Garān-hāṭī*, and *Rāṇī-hāṭī* or *Reṇeṭi*) has grown up in Bengal, and Jayadeva's *Padas* are sung by Bengali *Kīrttaniyās* or *Pada*-singers along that new tradition.

Jayadeva's *Padas* spread all over India, and naturally local variations and local schools developed everywhere. I have heard Jayadeva *Padas* sung by some of the best masters of Bengal; in Orissa (at Puri, where temple *devā-dāsīs* still sing the *Padas* in the Orissa style), and also in Manipur (Imphal)—the easternmost outpost of Hinduism;

in Vrindavana (a great centre of Bengali and other schools of Vaishnavism); in Poona in Maharashtra (a great centre of Indian classical music) and in Tanjore in Tamil-nad (from a young Tamil lady who sang Jayadeva *Padas* in Sanskrit in the Karnatak or Classical South Indian tradition). Everywhere now it is different, except in Manipur, where the Modern Bengali tradition is followed.

Attempts were made in Bengal to revive the pristine or Old Classical system in singing Jayadeva's *Padas*, and a good deal was done in this line by the late Mrs. Aparna Ray of the *Braja-mâdhurī Sangha*, with the help of *Kirttaniyās* and musicians keeping Something of the old tradition at Vrindavana; and the accomplished singer Rathindranath Ghosh, a very good singer of Classical Indian *Rāgas*, who has studied the Bengali Vaishnava *Padas* in the old tradition with Harekrishna Mukherji, has succeeded a good deal. But the old late Bengali system still holds the field.

All this shows how important is the place of Jayadeva's *songs* in the history, tradition and present practice of Indian Music. Jayadeva's contribution to Indian Music has indeed been great, as he has undoubtedly been one of the Makers of Indian Literature.

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